ṬURUQ AND ṬURUQ-LINKED INSTITUTIONS IN NINETEENTH CENTURY EGYPT

A Historical Study
in Organizational Dimensions of Islamic Mysticism

BY

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It is only in the historical process, the process of thoughts, that thought exists at all; and it is only in so far as this process is known for a process of thoughts that it is one. The self-knowledge of reason is not an accident; it belongs to its essence. This is why historical knowledge is no luxury, or mere amusement of a mind at leisure from more pressing occupations, but a prime duty, whose discharge is essential to the maintenance, not only of any particular form or type of reason, but of reason itself.

R. G. Collingwood, *The Idea of History*,
Oxford 1946, pp. 227-8.

To Loes and Tiddo Hofstee

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(Copy made by the author from the original owned by Muḥammad Wafā al-Bakrī).

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The members and heads of the *ṭuruq* who have provided me with information and are mentioned by name in the following pages, have my deep gratitude. In addition, many other "ahl al-ṭarīq" have contributed directly or indirectly to the present study as informants, by providing publications, or by giving help in many other ways. They are too numerous to mention individually, but each is remembered gratefully.

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NOTE ON SPELLING AND TRANSLITERATION

From stylistic considerations I have given preference to the use of Arabic plural forms for the various technical terms which are necessary in a work like the present one, instead of using the bastard construction of the English plural 's' attached to the Arabic singular. Exceptions have been made for the dualis and for nouns following numerals above 11. In both cases the English plural 's' is suffixed to the Arabic singular. Equally for reasons of style I have occasionally chosen to use the English definite article preceding Arabic genitive constructions e.g. the *naqīb al-ashrāf*. Whenever the option presented itself, preference has been given to Arabic over (Ottoman) Turkish spelling and vocalization.

Names of towns and villages are vocalized in accordance with Wizārat al-Māliyya (Maṣlaḥat al-Misāḥa), *Al-Dalīl al-Jughrāfī li-Asmā' al-Mudun wa 'l-Nawāḥī al-Miṣriyya*, Cairo (Būlāq): al-Mṭ. al-Amīriyya 1941.

INTRODUCTION

This is primarily a historical study of organizational dimensions of Islamic mysticism in Egypt during the 19th century. It is the result of my efforts to answer a number of questions that had emerged in the course of research which had been focused originally on the *ṭuruq* in Egypt after the revolution of 1952. These questions were relative to the origins and the contents of the two sets of regulations which served as the basis for the administration of the *ṭuruq* from the first decade of the 20th century until 1976 — the *lā'iḥat al-ṭuruq al-ṣūfiyya* proclaimed by khedivial decree in 1903 and its complement, the *lā'iḥa al-dākhiliyya li'l-ṭuruq al-ṣūfiyya*, which had been in force since 1905 —, and can be reduced conveniently, albeit unsophisticatedly, to the following terms: how did the *ṭuruq* become subject to these regulations and what has determined their contents and composition?

A reasonably adequate answer to these questions appeared to entail, in the course of subsequent research, the need for a discussion of the organizational arrangements for the *ṭuruq* and *ṭuruq*-linked institutions, presented in this monograph, from the prelude to the institutionalization of central authority starting in 1802, until the endorsement of the *lā'iḥa al-dākhiliyya* by the members of the *Majlis al-Ṣūfī* in 1905. Since this was only six years before Muḥammad Tawfīq al-Bakrī, the man who left his lasting impact on the *ṭuruq* in Egypt, abdicated as *shaykh al-sajjāda al-Bakriyya*, *naqīb al-ashrāf* and *shaykh mashāyikh al-ṭuruq al-ṣūfiyya*, I have found it apposite to treat the period until the end of his career in 1911 as an integral part of a historical sequence of events stretching over most of the 19th century.

The *ṭuruq* dealt with in this study are hierarchically-organized initiatory associations founded on a mystical conception of Islam. This conception finds its expression in each association's body of teachings and religious practices which is referred to by "Way" as distinct from *ṭarīqa* and its synonym *ṣūfī* order. This specification, however, is meant to be a valid characterization only of the religious groupings which are the principal concern in the following pages. It is in no way intended as a definition of a distinct social category containing the elements for an adequate, i.e. an operational typology for the study of the *ṭuruq* in general, whose characteristics have

differed so widely in place and time that they preclude any successful attempt to this effect.[1]

It would seem equally preclusive to define the establishments known as *takāyā* and *zawāyā* in a way which would encompass the great diversity of organizational arrangements, social functions and architectonical lay-outs of the establishments themselves — which are by no means the least important variables — denoted by these terms in a wide variety of spatio-temporal settings. In all these settings, however, as well as in the setting of 19th century Egypt, *takāyā* and *zawāyā* existed by dint of a variety of provisions allowing for fairly permanent forms of communal residence and worship in a building erected or allocated for this purpose.

For most of the *ṭuruq* dealt with, *takāyā*, *zawāyā* and also shrines or shrine-mosques, constituted an integral part and in some cases the nucleus, of their organization. Moreover, many of the *takāyā*, *zawāyā* and shrines were entirely independent units which were in no way part of the organization of a *ṭarīqa*, but were frequently controlled and inhabited by people who were generally, but not necessarily, members of a particular *ṭarīqa*. All these establishments came to function within the framework of the *ṭuruq* administration in the course of the 19th century and are subsumed under the heading *ṭuruq*-linked institutions.

The most explicit sociological concepts used in this study have been drawn from the work of Max Weber. These comprise his notion of authority ("... die Chance, für spezifische (oder : für alle) Befehle bei einer angebbaren Gruppe von Menschen Gehorsam zu finden")[2] of which the legitimate forms[3] can be conceived of as part of a legitimate order. By this is meant "a normative system which is upheld by the belief in the actors of its binding quality or rightness".[4] In this sense every *ṭarīqa*, *takīya*, *zāwiya*, or shrine (-complex) may be defined as a legitimate order, which existed or exists by dint of the legitimacy of the authority exercised by their supreme heads or intendants. Legitimate

[1] Cf. N. R. Keddie (ed.), *Scholars, Saints and Sufis. Muslim Religious Institutions in the Middle East since 1500*. Berkeley-Los Angeles 1972, 4f.; and M. Gilsenan, *Saint and Sufi in Modern Egypt. An Essay in the Sociology of Religion*, Oxford 1973, 4f.

[2] M. Weber, *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft*, Tübingen 1972, 122; cf. *ibid.*, 28.

[3] See *ibid.*, 122ff.

[4] Cf. M. E. Spencer, 'Weber on legitimate norms and authority', *British Journal of Sociology*, xxi (1970), 123.

authority might also be defined as — and used interchangeably with — institutionalized leadership as long as the *ṭarīqa*, *takīya*, *zāwiya* or shrine (-complex) has the character of a voluntary association and when the head or intendant consequently does not owe his authority to power in the Weberian sense ("... jede Chance, innerhalb einer sozialen Beziehung der eigenen Willen auch gegen Widerstreben durchzusetzen, gleichviel worauf diese Chance beruht"),[5] but to consent.

At various times and places, however, the various legitimate orders constituted by the various *ṭuruq*, *takāyā*, *zawāyā* and shrines, were either dominated by or part of a legal order, which required the potential or *de facto* incumbents to the position of head or intendant to obtain legal sanction of their specific claims for authority and jurisdiction. Frequently, as in Ottoman Egypt, legal sanction in many cases took the form of registration of these claims as (an) office(s) in the claimant's name in the Court registers. In early 19th century Egypt, however, existence of the various *ṭuruq* and *ṭuruq*-linked institutions became dependent upon acceptance by their heads of a distinct legal order, which was made incumbent upon them when authority over the *ṭuruq*, *takāyā*, *zawāyā* and shrines — entailing right of jurisdiction (which may be conceived of as a mode of authority) — was granted to the *shaykh al-sajjāda al-Bakriyya* by vice-regal decree. Within this new order, legality of tenure became dependent upon formal appointment by the *shaykh al-sajjāda al-Bakriyya*. Appointments made by the incumbent to this office implied official recognition of the *ṭuruq* and *ṭuruq*-linked institutions concerned and superseded all earlier forms of procedure. The ways in which the heads of various *ṭuruq* and *ṭuruq*-linked institutions acquired or lost official status and thus obtained or were deprived of the legal mode of their authority, as well as the way in which the authority of *al-mashāyikh al-Bakriyya* transformed itself as a normative system are among the chief concerns in the following pages.

One of the principal sources for this study has been a collection of *dafātir* and single documents which were part of the Bakrī family archives at Cairo. This collection was microfilmed by the author in 1972 and 1973, when these archives were still entirely in private possession.[6] The original microfilms have been added to the holdings

[5] See Weber, *ibid.*, 28.

[6] According to Muḥammad Wafā al-Bakrī, the brother of the last *shaykh al-sajjāda al-Bakriyya*, the late Aḥmad Murād al-Bakrī (d. 1970), a part of these archives including

of Leiden University Library as F.Or.A. 283, 284 and 285.[7] This microfilmed material consists mainly of transcripts of letters from and to ʿAlī al-Bakrī, who was *shaykh al-sajjāda al-Bakriyya* and *naqīb al-ashrāf* from 13 April 1855 to 27 October 1880, these letters being mainly official or semi-official in nature and dealing with the administration of the *ṭuruq* and *ṭuruq*-linked institutions in particular.[8]

In addition, this study is based upon documents preserved at the Sharʿiyya Court Archives (Daftarkhānāt al-Maḥkama al-Sharʿiyya, referred to as DMS), at the National Archives (Dār al-Wathā'iq al-Qawmiyya, referred to as DWQ), at the Ministry of Awqāf (Wizārat al-Awqāf, referred to as WA),[9] all in Cairo,[10] and at the

the microfilmed *dafātir* preserved at Leiden University Library under accession-number F. Or. A. 283, was transferred to the Dār al-Maḥfūẓāt al-ʿUmūmiyya at the end of 1974.

[7] The following system of reference is adopted: F. Or. A. 283, followed by the serial number (I-V), the sheet number (i.e. referring to the collection of somewhat differently arranged prints of this series), the page number of the *dafātir* between brackets when not identical with sheet number, a number indicating the rank-order of the transcribed document in the page mentioned, followed by the date between brackets; e.g. F. Or. A. 283, V-1(8)/7(4 Ram. 1296). Prints and exposures correspond as follows:
I-(1-89): I^{i} (1-29), II^{ii} (1-36), II^{iii} (1-24);
II-(1-37): II^{i} (1-18), II^{ii} (1-29);
III-(1-35): III^{i} (1-20), III^{ii} (1-15);
IV-(1-37): IV^{i} (1-8), IV^{ii} (1-29);
V-(1-52): V^{i} (1-20), V^{ii} (1-7), V^{iii} (1-24);
F. Or. A. 284, followed by the serial number (I-VI), followed by the exposure number and by the date e.g. F. Or. A. 284, III/7(11 Raj. 1301); F. Or. A. 285, followed by the serial number (I-II), the sheet number (i.e. referring to the collection of somewhat differently arranged prints of this series), a number indicating the rank-order of the (transcribed) document in the exposure mentioned, followed by the date between brackets; e.g. F. Or. A. 285, 11/69. Prints and exposures correspond as follows:
I-(1-122): D (last 25 exposures), E (26-63), C (64-101), A (102-122);
II-(1-117): F (1-29), B^{ii} (1-26), B^{i} (1-45), D (1-16).

[8] A detailed description of this material together with an annotated edition of a representative selection of documents is in preparation.

[9] Reference is to the *waqfiyyāt* kept at the Daftarkhāna in the basement of the Ministry, unless otherwise stated.

[10] Browsing not being permitted in any of these archives at the time of my research, the documents mentioned in this study had to be located by means of the indexes kept at each of these establishments. No separate mention of this material has been made in the bibliography.

For references to descriptions of these archival collections see D. Crecelius, 'On Archival Sources for Demographic Studies of the Middle East', an unpublished paper presented to the Conference on the Social and Economic History of the Middle East held at Princeton, June 1974. This paper also gives an accurate description of the almost insurmountable difficulties the prospective researcher faces in gaining access to these archival collections and in their exploitation.

Public Record Office in London. Other unpublished materials used include several original and microfilmed manuscripts and documents preserved in Leiden University Library. An incidental manuscript and many of the publications mentioned were consulted in public and private libraries in Alexandria, Cairo and Ṭanṭā.

The majority of the oral testimonies which are used in this study as historical sources, were collected in the course of anthropological field-work conducted among the various *ṭuruq* which had an active membership in Egypt in the late 1960's and the early 1970's.[11] I have made use of these verbal accounts only if they could be substantiated by evidence derived from other oral or written historical sources. In several cases, however, this evidence is not as complete and convincing as could be required, and therefore some of the accounts drawn upon are not as reliable as historical sources as might have been desired. To leave these testimonies aside in this study would have meant the exclusion of a corpus of orally transmitted historical information which, even if partly untrustworthy, might at least be of value as historical source material[12] to future scholars who might modify or corroborate these testimonies and thus change or refine the picture presented in the following pages.

[11] This field-work was conducted as part of a comprehensive study of the *ṭuruq* in 19th and 20th century Egypt of which this study constitutes the first volume. I hope to publish, within the next two years or so, a volume under the title 'The Ṣūfī Orders in post-Ottoman Egypt', dealing with the period from 1911 up to the early 1970's, and a volume of annotated documents referred to in note 8, which will be complementary to the present one.

[12] For a review of the various positions held regarding the value of oral tradition as historical source material, the reader is referred to J. Vansina, *De la tradition orale. Essai de méthode historique*, Annales - Série en 8° - Sciences Humaines no. 36, Tervuren: Musée Royal de l'Afrique Centrale, 1961, 6-11.

CHAPTER ONE

THE EMERGENCE AND INSTITUTIONALIZATION OF CENTRAL AUTHORITY OVER THE *ṬURUQ* AND *ṬURUQ*-LINKED INSTITUTIONS

Upon the French withdrawal from Egypt in 1801, the new Ottoman *walī*, Muḥammad Bāṣhā Khusraw, removed Khalīl al-Bakrī from the *niqābat al-ashrāf* and the *sajjādat al-Bakriyya*. Khalīl al-Bakrī, whose family had been prominent in Egypt since the 15th century, had been *shaykh al-sajjāda al-Bakriyya* from the end of 1793.[1] Following the French occupation of Cairo in 1798, the then *naqīb al-ashrāf*, 'Umar Makram, fled the country and the French installed Khalīl in this office which had been held earlier by members of the Bakrī family.[2] He was also made a member of the *Dīwān* of Cairo, installed by the French, where he co-operated faithfully with the invaders throughout the period of the French occupation.

Muḥammad Khusraw's action, as it appears from al-Jabartī's account of the event,[3] was the result of pressure of public opinion. Khalīl al-Bakrī was considered to be a collaborator with the unbelievers and unworthy of holding his offices. The *Bāṣhā*, who must have been susceptible to this pressure in the course of re-establishing Ottoman reign in Egypt, gave in. The former *naqīb al-ashrāf*, 'Umar Makram, who had returned to Egypt, was reinstalled. The new *walī* invested Muḥammad Abū 'l-Su'ūd al-Bakrī, as *shaykh al-sajjāda al-Bakriyya*, even though he was a poor and unknown member of a branch of the Bakrī family whose members had been Khalīl's rivals.[4] It is probable

[1] See Muḥammad Tawfīq al-Bakrī, *Bayt al-Ṣiddīq*, Cairo 1323, (hereafter *B.S.*), 144 for the text of the *taqrīr* of the *qāḍī al-quḍāt* appointing him. On the term *shaykh al-sajjāda* (occupier of the prayer-rug of the founder of a *ṭariqa*, i.e. the present incumbent), see J. S. Trimingham, *The Sufi Orders in Islam*, Oxford 1971, 173.

[2] Cf. the list of incumbents to the *niqābat al-ashrāf* in appendix IX, page 236.

[3] Cf. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Jabartī, *'Ajā'ib al-Āthār fī 'l-Tarājim wa 'l-Akhbār*, iv vols., Būlāq [1297] (*'Ajā'ib* hereafter), iv, 87.

[4] See appendix VII for Muḥammad Abū 'l-Su'ūd al-Bakrī's genealogy. The name Muḥammad Sa'd given in *'Ajā'ib*, iv, 87, 165, appears to be a corruption of Muḥammad Abū 'l-Su'ūd. See also *B.S.*, 46-7, 141, and 'Alī Mubārak, *Al-Khiṭaṭ al-Tawfiqiyya al-Jadīda li-Miṣr al-Qāhira wa Mudunihā al-Qadīma wa 'l-Shahīra*, xx vols., Būlāq 1305/6 (hereafter *Khiṭ.*), iii, 125.

that Muḥammad Khusraw welcomed the possibility of appointing this member of the rival branch: it effectively blocked possible future claims to this power-position by Khalīl or by his only male descendant.[5] Moreover, since the new incumbent of the office lacked financial means, there were better prospects for lasting loyalty to and control by the *Bāshā*, who installed him in a house, gave him a substantial amount of money and a number of financial privileges.[6]

"From then onwards", al-Jabartī reports, "his authority spread and his name became well-known ..., and the *khulafā'* of the fallacious *ṭuruq* and those possessing unlawful instruments, like al-Aḥmadiyya, al-Rifā'iyya, al-Burhāmiyya and al-Qādiriyya,[7] appealed to him for judgement and he decided [according to] their common rules".[8] This

[5] In the *'Ajā'ib* no mention is made of Khalīl's son Aḥmad, who was a trader. On Aḥmad, see A. Raymond, *Artisans et commerçants au Caire au xviii^e siècle*, ii vols., Damas 1973-4, ii, 423.

The children of Dhū 'l-Faqār 'Alī al-Bakrī, who had been married to the daughter of Muḥammad al-Bakrī al-Kabīr, are also reported to have been claimants; cf. N.-C.D., 'Bait as-Siddîk. L'aristocratie religieuse en Égypte', iv (1908), 260.

[6] Cf. *Khiṭ.*, iv, 165.

[7] These *ṭuruq* or groups of *ṭuruq* take their names from Aḥmad al-Badawī (596-675: 1199-1276), Aḥmad al-Rifā'ī (512-572: 1118/19-1176/77), Ibrāhīm al-Disūqī (d. 687: 1288), and 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī (d. 561: 1165/66). They are considered to be the founders of four great Ways and are known as *al-aqṭāb al-arba'a*; cf. Muḥammad Maḥmūd al-Suṭūḥī, *Al-Taṣawwuf wa Aqṭābuhu*, Cairo 1970, *passim*. For further references and information concerning these mystics, see Trimingham, *Sufi Orders*, *passim*.

[8] *'Ajā'ib*, iv, 165. The same lines are reproduced in *B.S.*, 46f. Al-Jabartī, known for his critical attitude towards popular mysticism, speaks about al-Bakrī's jurisdiction over "*khulafā' al-ṭarā'iq al-ṣūriyya wa aṣḥāb al-ashāyir al-bid'iyya*". It must be noted that Muḥammad Tawfīq omits the derogatory epithets *ṣūriyya* and *bid'iyya*.

According to Aḥmad Amīn, the term *ashāyir* denotes the *adawāt al-dhikr*, i.e. the instruments used in a *dhikr*; cf. Aḥmad Amīn, *Qāmūs al-'Ādāt wa 'l-Taqālid wa 'l-Ta'ābir al-Miṣriyya*, Cairo 1953, 47. These instruments were also colloquially referred to by the term *'idda* or *'edda* (litt. *'udda*). Every *khalīfa* used to own at least some of the following items, which were considered as necessary to his equipment (cf. F. Or. A. 283, IV-1/2-3, n.d.: 1288 approx.): musical instruments like the various kinds of drums and tambourines (*ṭubūl*, *bāzāt*, *tīrān*), copper castanets (*kāsāt*), various kinds of flutes, flags, banners, signboards (*a'lām*, *bawāriq*, *yufaṭ*), a *zayy* (a kind of lamp), *'uṣiy* (sticks with metal or ivory decorations at the top), sashes (*ḥazīmāt*) in the distinctive colours of the *ṭarīqa* (on these colours, see E. W. Lane, *The Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*, London 1963, 248ff., and *Khiṭ.*, iii, 130), *mashā'il* (iron baskets attached to poles which are filled with flaming wood; cf. Lane, 175), and sometimes a *surādiq* (a large, pavilion-type tent); cf. P. Kahle, 'Zur Organisation der Derwishorden in Egypten', *Der Islam*, vi (1916), 159ff.

In addition the term *ashāyir* denotes certain revenues from *awqāf* as well as from other sources specifically destined for maintenance of the *ashāyir* in the former sense, i.e. of the material culture of a *ṭarīqa* (or of a *sajjāda*; cf. appendix IV, article 2). Some *ṭuruq* Aḥmadiyya received annual payments from the *ṣundūq al-Aḥmadī* for

explicit reference by al-Jabartī to the emergence of Muḥammad Abū 'l-Su'ūd's jurisdiction over the *ṭuruq* seems apposite indeed, since never before had authority over *ṭuruq* or *ṭuruq*-linked institutions been held by one of the preceding incumbents of the *sajjādat al-Bakriyya*.[9]

a. *Al-Bakriyya and its leaders*

Authority over the descendants of Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīq in Egypt was held by the descendants of Muḥammad Jalāl al-Dīn al-Bakrī, who settled in Cairo in 841 (1437/38) as the first of this branch of *ashrāf*.[10] It must have been in the second half of the 16th century, when

this purpose. These payments were known as *murattabāt al-ishāra* and were distinct from the *murattabāt al-sajjāda*, which were annual payments from the same source to the heads of these *ṭuruq* as contribution to the expenses that their heads had to make in this capacity; cf. F. Or. A. 283, IV-29 (20)/1 (Muḥ. 1305). For a clarification of these terms I am grateful to Aḥmad Muḥammad Shams al-Dīn, the present-day head of al-Marzūqiyya al-Aḥmadiyya in Egypt.

The term *ishāra* also denotes a procession of *ṭarīqa* members (cf. R. Dozy, *Supplément aux Dictionnaires Arabes*, Leyde 1877, i, 800, and also Lane, 449). The term *arbāb al-ashāyir* is used as equivalent to *arbāb al-ṭuruq*, i.e. the members of the *ṭuruq*; cf. *'Ajā'ib*, iv, 120. See also chapter II, note 126. For its use as the equivalent of *ṭarīqa* in earlier pre-19th century texts, see e.g. Abū 'l-Faraj 'Alī b. Ibrāhīm al-Ḥalabī, 'Al-Naṣīḥa al-'Alawiyya fī Bayān Ḥusn Ṭarīqat al-Sāda al-Aḥmadiyya', MS Berlin 10.104, fol. 37a.

[9] Muḥammad Tawfīq al-Bakrī in his *Bayt al-Ṣiddīq*, 379, claims that the *mashyakhat al-ṭuruq al-ṣūfiyya* was an 'office' (*waẓīfa*) held by members of his family from the 11th century. Statements by some Western scholars that the *shaykh al-Bakrī* acted as the principal director and co-ordinator of the *ṭuruq* in *Egypt* during the Ottoman period, also appear to be based on this contention; see e.g. D. Crecelius, 'The Emergence of the Shaykh al-Azhar as the pre-eminent religious Leader in Egypt', *Colloque International sur l'Histoire du Caire*, [Cairo] Grafenhainchen (D.D.R.) pr. [1972], 113; Afaf Lutfī Al-Sayyid Marsot, 'The Ulama of Cairo in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries', in N. R. Keddie (ed.), *Scholars, Saints, and Sufis*, 151; A. Raymond, *Artisans*, ii, 420; S. J. Shaw, (trsl., introd. and notes), *Ottoman Egypt in the Age of the French Revolution by Ḥuseyn Efendī*, Cambridge, Mass. 1964 (Shaw/Ḥuseyn hereafter), 100. The Egyptian scholar Tawfīq al-Ṭawīl, *Al-Taṣawwuf fī Miṣr ibbāna 'l-'Aṣr al-'Uthmānī*, Cairo 1946, 90ff., has shown decisively that there is no evidence of the existence of such an office in Ottoman Egypt. I may add that there is no evidence of a *shaykh al-sajjāda al-Bakriyya* having held any authority over any *ṭarīqa* besides the Bakriyya.

From the beginning of the era of 'Alī Bek al-Kabīr onwards, the *shaykh al-Bakrī* was responsible for the celebrations of the *mawlid al-nabī*. See Ḥasan al-Sandūbī, *Ta'rīkh al-Iḥtifāl bi'l-Mawlid al-Nabawī*, Cairo 1948, 157ff.; cf. *'Ajā'ib*, iii, 191. The exact nature and extent of his co-ordinative rôle in these celebrations is obscure until the beginning of the 1870's. In this respect, a relatively clear picture of his rôle during the last three decades of the century emerges from Leiden F. Or. A. 283.

[10] He came to Cairo from the village of Dahrūṭ in Upper Egypt. This village used to be known as Dahrūṭ al-Bakriyya or Dahrūṭ al-Ashrāf; cf. Muḥammad Ramzī, *Al-Qāmūs al-Jughrāfī li'l-Bilād al-Miṣriyya*, Cairo 1953-1958, vol. iii, 2nd part,

Muḥammad Shams al-Dīn Abyaḍ al-Wajh was supreme head,[11] that this family group transformed itself into a mystical initiatory association or *ṭarīqa ṣūfiyya*. Abyaḍ al-Wajh had been initiated in a number of *ṭuruq*[12] and had composed a distinctive liturgy, the *Ḥizb al-Fatḥ*, also known as *Ḥizb al-Bakrī*.[13] Its reading was one of the obligations laid on his disciples, and hence gave that group a distinct identity.[14] In the course of time various functions had come to be attached to the supreme leadership position of this group, including the administration and supervision of *awqāf* and the supervision of a number of shrines with the right to appoint intendants.[15] The position entailed the right to certain pensions and stipends.[16]

247. For a number of years he had been *muftī* and a teacher in al-Fayyūm; cf. 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Sha'rānī, *Al-Ṭabaqāt al-Ṣughrā*, Cairo 1970, 50ff.; *idem*, *Al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā*, ii vols., Cairo 1954, ii, 138; *B.S.*, 7; *Khiṭ.*, iii, 133; Najm al-Dīn b. Muḥammad al-Ghazzī, *Al-Kawākib al-Sā'ira fī A'yān al-Mi'a al-'Āshira*, iii vols., Beirut 1945-1959, i, 248, and *B.S.*, 100. He was a contemporary of 'Abd al-Qādir al-Dashṭūṭī (d. 924: 1517) who had made him *nāẓir* of his *waqf*. This office was held by members of the Bakrī family until the end of the 19th century. It implied the responsibility for the celebration of his *mawlid;* cf. *Khiṭ.*, iii, 134.

[11] He lived from 930 (1523/4) to 994 (1586); cf. *B.S.*, 81. For biographical information, see al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Buraynī, *Tarājim al-A'yān min Abnā' al-Zamān*, ii vols., Damascus 1959-1963, i, 257; Muḥammad Amīn b. Faḍl Allāh al-Muḥibbī, *Khulāṣat al-Athar fī A'yān al-Qarn al-Ḥādī 'Ashar*, iv vols., Cairo 1284, i, 117f.; Ibrāhīm b. 'Āmir al-'Ubaydī, *'Umdat al-Taḥqīq fī Bashā'ir Āl al-Ṣiddīq*, Cairo 1287, 153.

What the extent of the competence of this family-head was is not clear. It is likely that he held a sort of jurisdiction over the descendants of Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīq, similar to the earlier *niqābāt*, like the *niqābat al-'Alawiyyīn* and the *niqābat al-Ṭālibiyyīn* and identical to the later *niqābat al-ashrāf*; cf. *B.S.*, 394f., and E. Tyan, *Histoire de l'Organisation judiciaire en pays de l'Islam*, ii vols., Paris/Beyrouth, ii, 329-341.

[12] Amongst others in al-Shādhiliyya, al-Suhrawardiyya, and al-Abhariyya al-Akbariyya by Zakariyyā' al-Anṣārī. He had also taken the *'ahd* from al-Dashṭūṭī; see Kamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Ḥarīrī, 'Tibyān Wasā'il al-Ḥaqā'iq fī Bayān Salāsil al-Ṭarā'iq', MS Ibrāhīm Efendī (Süleymaniye) 430-2, i, fol. 104a.

[13] Various editions exist, e.g. Muḥammad Abyaḍ al-Wajh b. Abī 'l-Ḥasan al-Bakrī, *Ḥizb al-Fatḥ*, Cairo: Mṭ. al-Ādāb 1318. For his works, see *GAL*, G ii, 339; the *ḥizb* is not mentioned.

[14] Al-Ḥarīrī, i, fol. 131a, gives him as the founder of the *ṭarīqa*. In *B.S.* no distinction is made between the *ṭarīqa* and the original *sāda al-Bakriyya*, i.e. a family group related by their descent from Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīq.

[15] Al-'Ubaydī, 153, speaks about *sā'ir waẓā'if* without specifying the various offices. This suggests that these offices were generally known. They are likely to have included the *niẓāra* of al-Ḥusayn mosque (cf. *'Aja'ib*, iv, 189), the *niẓāra* of the mosque and *awqāf* of al-Dashṭūṭī (cf. note 10.), and possibly of some of the 44 *waqf*s referred to by Afaf Lutfi al-Sayyid Marsot, 'A socio-economic sketch of the 'Ulamā' in the eighteenth Century', *Colloque International*, 318.

[16] Cf. Shaw/Ḥuseyn, 42; *Description de l'Égypte, État Moderne*, (hereafter *Description*), ii vols., 3 parts, Paris 1809-1822, i, 379. (from *al-khazīna* to al-Bakrī, 2538 médins for

The term *shaykh al-sajjāda* does not seem to have gained much currency in denoting this complex of functions before the end of the 17th century.[17] The earliest occurrence of this term with respect to the descendants of Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīq is in the relatively recent and well-known *Riḥla* of al-Nābulusī. This scholar relates how the *shaykh al-sajjāda al-Bakriyya*, Muḥammad b. Abī 'l-Mawāhib (d. 1125: 1713), at the time of his visit to Cairo in 1108 (1696), told him that he had been invested by his father and predecessor Muḥammad b. Abī 'l-Surūr Zayn al-'Ābidīn (d. 1087: 1676) in the presence of the *'ulamā'*, the virtuous and the eminent.[18] This action was obviously meant to prevent disputes about succession. It was repeated later by two other *mashāyikh al-Bakriyya*, viz. Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Mun'im (d. 1153: 1740/41),[19] and by Muḥammad Abū 'l-Su'ūd (d. 1227: 1812),[20] both of whom arranged for their succession before their deaths.

Legal incumbency appears to have been dependent upon compliance by the groups mentioned above.[21] Legal exercise of functions attached to this office could be achieved only if the claims of a new incumbent were recognized by the *qāḍī al-quḍāt*, followed by due registration in the court registers.[22] From about the end of the 12th (18th) century onwards, this was preceded by investment by the *walī*. The first *shaykh al-sajjāda al-Bakriyya* for whom this was the case, was

expenses during *al-mawlid al-Aḥmadī*), and i, 383 (payment from the *ṣurra*, 260.900 médins); and Marsot, 'A socio-economic sketch', 318.

An idea about the value of these amounts which were paid at the eve of the French occupation of Egypt may be obtained when compared with the yearly expenditure of an Upper-Egyptian *fellāḥ* in terms of money, computed at 1980 médins (*paras*) for the year 1800; cf. Fuad Sultan, *La Monnaie Égyptienne*, Paris 1914, 32.

[17] Cf. al-Muḥibbī, iii, 465f., who writes about *ra'īs al-bayt al-Bakrī*, and al-'Ubaydī, 108, who mentions *al-khilāfa al-Bakriyya*. Earlier sources e.g. al-Buraynī (d. 1024: 1615) and al-Sha'rānī (d. 973: 1565/6) do not use any term suggestive of a central authority position in their biographies of *mashāyikh Bakriyya*; cf. al-Buraynī, i, 256-9; al-Sha'rānī, *Ṭabaqāt*, *passim*. See appendix VIII, for a tentative list of the incumbents to the supreme authority position of the Bakrī family and the *ṭarīqa al-Bakriyya*.

[18] 'Abd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī, 'Al-Ḥaqīqa fī Riḥlat Bilād al-Shām wa Miṣr wa 'l-Ḥijāz', MS Berlin 6145, fol. 211a.

[19] Cf. *'Aja'ib*, i, 157, 221.

[20] See below page 20.

[21] Cf. *'Aja'ib*, ii, 72, where he refers to Muḥammad Efendī al-Bakrī al-Kabīr as having taken over the *sajjāda* (after the death of his predecessor) with the unanimous agreement of the élite and the plebs (*bi-ijmā' al-khāṣṣ wa 'l-'āmm*) suggesting that this was the most appropriate and most desirable state.

[22] Cf. al-'Ubaydī, 153. See also *B.S.*, 144, for the text of the *taqrīr* from the *qāḍī al-quḍāt* of Egypt appointing Khalīl al-Bakrī as *shaykh al-sajjāda al-Bakriyya*.

Muḥammad Efendī al-Bakrī al-Kabīr, invested in 1195 (1781), who also held the office of *naqīb al-ashrāf*.[23]

b. *The niqābat al-ashrāf*

The incumbent of the *niqābat al-ashrāf* had various rights and duties with respect to the descendants of the Prophet, including the exclusive right to punish *ashrāf* and to execute punishment demanded by others.[24] He also had the right to ten per cent of debts paid owing to his intervention.[25] Among the more important of his duties was keeping a record of their genealogies, assisting *ashrāf* in obtaining their rights, supervision of their *awqāf* and distribution of the revenues to those who had rights to a share in them.[26]

The *naqīb al-ashrāf* in Istanbul annually appointed, or reappointed, the *naqīb* in each province, and for this a high premium was paid.[27] The office was held by Turks until about the middle of the 18th century when a native Egyptian, Muḥammad Abū Hādī al-Sādāt, obtained the appointment. After the latter's death in 1168 (1754/55) his relative Aḥmad b. Ismā'īl al-Sādāt was invested.[28] He held this office until 1176 (1762/63) when he abdicated in favour of Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Bakrī, the *shaykh al-sajjāda al-Bakriyya*.[29] It was to be held by incumbents of the *sajjādat al-Bakriyya* until the beginning of the 20th century, except for the following periods: November 1793-September 1798, February 1802-February 1816 and April 1895-March 1903.[30]

[23] *'Ajā'ib*, ii, 72.

[24] Shaw/Ḥuseyn, 42; *'Ajā'ib*, iii, 15. See also M. D'Ohsson, *Tableau général de l'Empire Ottoman*, vii vols., Paris 1788-1824, ii, 278.

[25] D'Ohsson, *ibid.*

[26] Cf. Abū 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. M. b. Ḥabīb al-Māwardī, *Kitāb al-Aḥkām al-Sulṭāniyya* (Tr. F. Fagnan, *Les statuts gouvernementaux ou règles de droit public et administratif*), Alger 1915, 199-297; see also Tyan, *Histoire*, ii, 329-341.

[27] H. A. R. Gibb and H. Bowen, *Islamic Society and the West*, ii parts, London 1950-57, ii, 100.

[28] The last Turkish *naqīb* mentioned by al-Jabartī is 'Alī Efendī, who died on 18 Shawwāl 1153 (7 January 1741); cf. *'Ajā'ib*, i, 160. The first reference by this author to an Egyptian *naqīb* is to Aḥmad b. Ismā'īl b. Muḥammad Abū 'l-Amdād's maternal grandfather Muḥammad Abū Hādī 'l-Sādāt. Aḥmad b. Ismā'īl succeeded Muḥammad in 1168 (1754/5); cf. *'Ajā'ib*, i, 315-6.

[29] See *'Ajā'ib*, i, 316. He was known as Abū Bakr al-Bakrī; cf. *'Ajā'ib*, i, 221.

[30] Cf. the list of incumbents to the *niqābat al-ashrāf* from ca. 1750 until 1911 in appendix IX.

c. *The arbāb al-sajājīd*

The term *shaykh al-sajjāda* was used equally with regard to the leaders of al-'Ināniyya, al-Khuḍayriyya and al-Wafā'iyya, who traced themselves back to 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, al-Zubayr b. al-'Awwām and 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib respectively. These groups of *ashrāf*, like the corporation of descendants of Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīq, had transformed themselves from family groups into mystical associations. The position of the leaders of these groups was very similar to the position of the *shaykh al-sajjāda al-Bakriyya*. As with this position, their legality of tenure depended upon recognition of their claims by the *qāḍī* and due registration in the court registers.[31] They had also acquired extensive assets,[32] they played a rôle in the administration of the country[33] and held an amorphous right of jurisdiction.[34] The leaders of these four *ṭuruq* were collectively referred to as *arbāb al-sajājīd*.[35]

[31] Cf. Muḥammad b. Khalīfa al-Shawbarī, 'Al-Tarjama al-Wafā'iyya', MS Leiden Or. 14. 437, *passim*. The identical nature of al-'Ināniyya and al-Khuḍayriyya makes it likely that the heads of these groups obtained legality in a similar way. The *shaykh al-sajjāda al-Wafā'iyya* was commonly known as the *shaykh al-sādāt*.

[32] Cf. Hayyim Nahum, *Recueil de Firmans Impériaux Ottomans adressés aux Valis et aux khédives d'Égypte, 1006 H-1322 H (1597 J.C.-1904 J.C.)*, Cairo 1934; the *farmānāt* 4, 11, 15 and 23.

[33] Cf. Shaw/Ḥuseyn, 42: "They attended the Small Council (al-Dīwān al-Khuṣūṣī), gave legal interpretations in all matters ...". See also Raymond, *Artisans*, 430, where mention is made of a meeting in 1737, convened by the *Bāshā* in order to fix prices, and in which the "*arbāb al-sajājīd*" participated. For involvement of *the heads of the orders* on similar occasions, cf. Raymond, *ibid.*, 749, 755.

[34] Cf. al-Shawbarī, fols. 7[a], 7[b], 8[b].

[35] See the Arabic text of Ḥuseyn Efendī's report published by Shafīq Ghurbāl under the title 'Miṣr 'inda Mafriq al-Ṭuruq', *Majallat Kulliyyat al-Ādāb al-Jāmi'a al-Miṣriyya*, iv/1 (May 1936), 25. It seems incorrect to translate this term by "the chiefs of the Dervish Orders" as done by Shaw/Ḥuseyn, 42, or as "les chefs des confréries" as done by A. Raymond in a different context; cf. Raymond, *Artisans*, 430. The relevant passage in Ḥuseyn Efendī's report itself already suggests a more restrictive meaning, since it omits mention of any other *ṭarīqa*-head in its enumeration. That only these four were considered to be *arbāb al-sajājīd* and that they actually stood in a category by themselves is confirmed by the way in which these groups developed in 19th century Egypt. See below.

If this more restrictive meaning has to be adduced to this term, the commonly accepted view that the *ṭuruq* had an overwhelming social importance in Ottoman Egypt before the 19th century would have to be revised, since all the references to the *arbāb al-sajājīd* in the relevant sources supporting this view would have to be interpreted differently; cf. e.g. Aḥmad Çelebī, 'Awdaḥ al-Ishārāt fī man tawallā Miṣr al-Qāhira min al-Wuzarā' wa'l-Bāshāt', Yale University Library, Landberg MS no. 3, fols. 85[a], 194[b]; Muṣṭafā b. Ibrāhīm al-Maddāḥ al-Qīnalī, 'Majmu' Laṭīf yashtamil 'alā Waqā'i' Miṣr al-Qāhira', Nationalbibliothek, Wien, MS. Hist. Osm. 38, fols. 65[b], 93[a,b], 94[b], 123[a].

In addition, the descendant of 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Sha'rānī (d. 973 : 1565), who controlled the saint's shrine near Bāb al-Sha'riyya and supervised its *awqāf*, was also referred to as *shaykh al-sajjāda*.[36] Whether he was concomitantly head of the *ṭarīqa al-Sha'rāniyya* is not clear from the sources. The fact that the names of those mentioned by al-Jabartī as *shaykh al-sajjāda*[37] do not figure in the *silsila* of the *ṭarīqa*[38] suggests that this had not always been the case.

d. *The ṭuruq*

Among the *ṭuruq* referred to in the quotation from al-Jabartī above, the term *shaykh al-sajjāda* was applied to the heads of the various Aḥmadiyya *ṭuruq*. Jurisdiction over these *ṭuruq*, which were originally known as *buyūt*, i.e. sub-sections of a *ṭarīqa* with some degree of autonomy, had been exercised by the *khulafā'* of the shrine of Aḥmad al-Badawī in Ṭanṭā for about two and a half centuries after his death. A change took place early in the 15th century, when the authority of the heads of five of these *buyūt* over their members, which had apparently existed *de facto* for some time, became recognised *de jure* by the *khalīfat al-maqām*, 'Abd al-Majīd.[39] A *ḥujja* was drawn up to this effect and approved by a number of dignitaries attached to the Aḥmadī shrine and mosque.[40] This act created a formal basis for the existence of these five *buyūt*, viz. al-Kannāsiyya, al-Manāyifa, al-Marzūqiyya, al-Imbābiyya and al-Salāmiyya, collectively known

[36] *'Ajā'ib*, i, 364.

[37] Cf. *'Ajā'ib*, *ibid.* For an enumeration of the intendants of the shrine until the late 17th century see also Muḥammad Muḥyī 'l-Dīn al-Milījī, *Al-Manāqib al-Kubrā, Tadhkirat Ūlī 'l-Albāb fī Manāqib al-Sha'rānī Sīdī 'Abd al-Wahhāb*, Cairo 1330, 163ff.

[38] For this *silsila* see 'Risāla fī Bayān Salāsil al-Ṭuruq', Leiden F. Or. A. 302; 34ff. The annotated *salāsil* of the *ṭuruq*, which had an active membership in Egypt at some time between 1800 and 1973 may be found in F. de Jong, 'The Ṣūfī Orders in post-Ottoman Egypt' (forthcoming).

[39] I.e. the intendant of the shrine of Aḥmad al-Badawī. The first to hold this office was one of al-Badawī's disciples, 'Abd al-'Āl (d. 754 : 1353), who was succeeded by his brother 'Abd al-Raḥmān (d. 789 : 1387). The nature and scope of the authority entailed by this office prior to the 18th century are not clear. From the period of office of 'Abd al-Majīd (d. 965 : 1557/8) onwards, however, the *khalīfat al-maqām* held only authority over the officials attached to the shrine (*khuddām al-maqām*); cf. Aḥmad Ṭu'ayma, *Ḥayāt al-Sayyid al-Badawī*, Cairo n.d., 108-109.

[40] Cf. Sa'īd 'Abd al-Fattāḥ 'Āshūr, *Al-Sayyid Aḥmad al-Badawī, Shaykh wa Ṭarīqa*, Cairo 1967, 208f.

as *al-bayt al-kabīr*.[41] Other *ṭuruq* emerged from these in the course of time, viz. al-Ḥalabiyya, al-Zāhidiyya, al-Shinnāwiyya, al-Suṭūḥiyya, al-Bayyūmiyya, al-Ḥumūdiyya, al-Shu'aybiyya and al-Tasqiyāniyya. The first four of these are sometimes referred to as *al-bayt al-ṣaghīr*.[42]

In the beginning of the 18th century the *shaykh al-Marzūqiyya* obtained a position of supreme authority over all the *ṭuruq Aḥmadiyya* in Egypt as well as over the Aḥmadiyya shrines.[43] Geographical limitations were set to his authority, however, and these could not be lifted even by periodic reconfirmation of the legality of its exercise.[44]

[41] Abū 'l-Wafā al-Ghunaymī al-Taftāzānī, 'Al-Ṭuruq al-Ṣūfiyya fī Miṣr', *Ḥawliyyāt Kulliyyat al-Ādāb Jāmi'at al-Qāhira*, xxv/2 (December 1963), 55-84, 73.

The first four of these *buyūt* trace themselves back to and take their names from Muḥammad al-Kannāsī, Ramaḍān al-Ash'ath al-Minūfī, Marzūq al-Yamānī and Ismā'īl al-Imbābī, respectively. All of them are held to have been contemporaries and disciples of Aḥmad al-Badawī.

The real founder of al-Manāyifa, however, is held to be Ramaḍān's nephew 'Abd Allāh al-Minūfī [(d. 748 : 1347/8; cf. al-Sha'rānī, *Ṭabaqāt*, ii, 2, and 'Kitāb al-Ṭuruq al-Ṣūfiyya bi'l-Diyār al-Miṣriyya', MS Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, no. 3737 *Ta'rikh* (Leiden, F. Or. A. 303)], who figures third in the *silsila* of the *ṭarīqa*; cf. 'Risāla fī Bayān Salāsil al-Ṭuruq', 10f. His shrine is in the Qarāfat al-Mujāwirīn, near the shrine-mosque of 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-'Afīfī.

Al-Ḥalabī, fol. 37a, gives Muḥammad al-Shīshī as the first *shaykh* of the *bayt al-Salāmiyya* (which he mentions as having been incorporated initially with the *bayt al-Marzūqiyya*). Muḥammad al-Shīshī, however, does not figure in any of the *salāsil* of al-Salāmiyya (or of al-Marzūqiyya) which I have been able to trace, and of which the oldest (contained in 'Risāla fī Bayān Salāsil al-Ṭuruq') dates back to the early 19th century. All of these *salāsil* start with a certain 'Alī al-Jawharī, who is presented as a disciple of Aḥmad al-Badawī. The members of al-Salāmiyya in present-day Egypt attribute to him the foundation of their *ṭarīqa*, whose name is said to refer to the peace (*salām*) it will inevitably bring to its followers.

[42] Al-Taftāzānī, 'ibid'. These *ṭuruq* trace themselves back to Aḥmad al-Ḥalabī, Aḥmad al-Zāhid (d. 819 : 1416/7), Muḥammad al-Shinnāwī (d. 932 : 1526), and Muḥammad al-Suṭūḥī. Al-Ḥumūdiyya, al-Shu'aybiyya, and al-Tasqiyāniyya were founded by Muḥammad Ḥamūda, Ibrāhīm al-Shu'aybī (d. 1796 approx.), and 'Abd Allāh al-Tasqiyānī respectively.

[43] See Muḥammad Muḥammad Muṣṭafā Shams al-Dīn, *Al-Mawā'iẓ al-Ṣūfiyya fī 'l-Ṭarīqa al-Aḥmadiyya*, Cairo 1332, 27, for the text of the *qarār* of the *qāḍī al-quḍāt* confirming Muḥammad Shams al-Dīn into office. In an *ijāza* of al-Marzūqiyya, which was consulted by the author at the headquarters of this *ṭarīqa* in Cairo, Muḥammad's father, Shams al-Dīn 'Ashīsh al-Khalwatī, was referred to as *muftī* and teacher of *ḥadīth* at al-Azhar mosque. He was also the first person mentioned in the *silsila* as *shaykh al-sajjāda*. This would suggest that he was the first person to hold this office at all. He resided in al-Jamāliyya in the *takīya* of a *khalīfa* of Aḥmad al-Badawī, Sīdī Marzūq al-Yamānī. Evliyā Çelebī, who visited Egypt at the end of the 17th century, when Shams al-Dīn 'Ashīsh must have been alive, also reports the *khalīfa* of Aḥmad al-Badawī to be resident here; cf. Evliyā Çelebī, *Seyāḥatnāme*, Istanbul 1938, x, 237.

[44] For the relevant documents, see Shams al-Dīn, 26f., 29f.

De facto control, even over the most important shrine of Aḥmad al-Badawī in Ṭanṭā — which had been vested in the descendants of Muḥammad al-Shinnāwī (d. 932: 1526),[45] one of the first *khulafā'* of Aḥmad al-Badawī, since the middle of the 16th century[46] — remained with them although *de jure* it had been obtained by the head of al-Marzūqiyya.

Nearer to Cairo, however, the heads of this *ṭarīqa* could completely actualize their authority, and they were apparently powerful enough to intervene in the intendancy of shrines in the province of al-Jīza.[47] This even allowed them to give control of the shrine of Ismā'īl al-Imbābī, the founder of al-Imbābiyya, to persons who had no links with this saint nor with his *ṭarīqa*; the situation became a source of rivalry and conflict between the heads of al-Imbābiyya and the intendants of the shrine, and this remained so until well into the 20th century.[48] All these *ṭuruq Aḥmadiyya*, of which the supreme leader was referred to as *shaykh al-sajjāda*, had these things in common: they had been established *ṭuruq* for many years, their leaders controlled shrines, were beneficiaries of *awqāf* revenues and held *niẓārāt* over *awqāf* which had become virtually hereditary within their respective families.

With respect to two other *ṭarīqa*s, al-Qādiriyya and al-Burhāmiyya, which had known some form of centralized authority in Egypt before the Ottoman occupation, the term *mashyakha* is used to indicate this position.[49] The *mashyakhat al-Qādiriyya*, which already existed as an

[45] See on him al-Ghazzī, i, 97, and al-Sha'rānī, *Ṭabaqāt*, ii, 132. His shrine is in Maḥallat Rūḥ. On al-Shinnāwiyya, see below page 38.

[46] Ṭu'ayma, 105.

[47] Cf. Shams al-Dīn, 30.

[48] No documentary evidence showing that the *shaykh al-Marzūqiyya* made this appointment is available. However, as part of the explanation of the protracted conflict existant today between the heads of al-Imbābiyya and of al-Kannāsiyya (cf. the relevant sections in F. de Jong, 'The Ṣūfī Orders ...'), all the present day heads of the *ṭuruq* involved, al-Marzūqiyya, al-Imbābiyya and al-Kannāsiyya, stated independently from each other that this had been the case. This appointment is likely to have been effected around 1192 (1778), since in that year a *firmān* was issued which reaffirmed the supreme authority position of the *shaykh al-sajjāda al-Marzūqiyya* within al-Aḥmadiyya in particular in the province of al-Jīza; cf. Shams al-Dīn, 26. A member of the Nuwaytū family is said to have been put in charge of this shrine. Later documentary evidence (see below p. 157, note 141) seems to confirm the reliability of their statements.

[49] See e.g. *'Ajā'ib*, ii, 89, 150; and al-Nābulusī, fol. 269[a].

office in Mamlūk Egypt,[50] had been held by members of the Jīzī family for most of the 18th century and they had combined this office with that of secretary of the *niqābat al-ashrāf*.[51] In the late 18th century their position was challenged by the descendants of Zayn al-Dīn al-Qādirī, the first *naqīb al-ashrāf* of Baghdād,[52] who had migrated to Egypt and had succeeded in obtaining control over the shrine of 'Īsā al-Qādirī.[53] Moreover, various Qādiriyya *takāyā* existed in Egypt, of which the heads had no formal links with the incumbent of the *mashyakha*. Among these were the takīyat Shaykhūn and the takīyat al-Surūjiyya.[54]

The Burhāmiyya had been subject to the authority of members of the 'Āshūr family since the days of the Mamlūk Sultan Qāyitbāy. This Sultan had granted a *marsūm* to Muḥammad 'Āshūr, grandson of Ṣāliḥ 'Āshūr and one-time supervisor of a *madrasa* founded by him,[55] giving him and his descendants exclusive authority over the members of the *ṭarīqa al-Burhāmiyya*.[56] The claims of the members of this family based on this *marsūm*, were respected throughout the Ottoman era.[57] Although the nature and effectiveness of the incumbent of the office would vary with the times, the fact that it was held by members of the same family for this prolonged period made it exceptional among the *ṭuruq* in Egypt. Their authority outside Cairo, however, seems to have been restricted: this is suggested by the

[50] Cf. Abū 'l-Ḥasan Nūr al-Dīn 'Alī b. Aḥmad al-Sakhāwī, *Tuḥfat al-Aḥbāb wa Bughyat al-Ṭullāb fī 'l-Khiṭaṭ wa 'l-Mazārāt wa 'l-Tarājim wa 'l-Biqā' wa 'l-Mubārakāt*, Cairo 1937, 81f.

[51] Cf. Muḥammad al-'Arabī al-'Azūzī, *A'lām Madinat Fās, al-musammā bi'l-Uns wa 'l-Isti'nās*, Bayrūt n.d., i, 220. See also *'Ajā'ib*, ii, 89, 150.

[52] See Hāshim al-A'ẓamī, *Ta'rīkh Jāmi' al Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir al-Kilānī wa Madrasatihi al-'Ilmiyya*, Baghdad 1971, 97.

[53] This part of the oral tradition of the Qādiriyya in Egypt is largely corroborated by the sources referred to in notes 50-52. On 'Īsā 'l-Qādirī and his shrine in the Qarāfa al-Kubrā see al-Sakhāwī, 310f.

[54] In takīyat Shaykhūn, a Qādiriyya community under a *shaykh* belonging to this *ṭarīqa* had been resident at least since the middle of the 17th century; cf. Çelebi, *Seyāḥatnāme*, x, 240; al-Ḥarīrī, iii, fol. 129[a]. For al-Surūjiyya (al-Sulaymāniyya) see *Khiṭ.*, vi, 56.

[55] I.e. of the Madrasat al-Mālik al-Ashraf Abū 'l-Naṣr Qāyitbāy; cf. 'Risāla fī Bayān Salāsil al-Ṭuruq', 28.

[56] See al-Nābulusī, fol. 269[a].

[57] This appears from the remarks made in this context by al-Nābulusī, 'ibid.' Since the *silsila* of the *mashāyikh* of the *ṭarīqa* given in 'Risāla fī Bayān Salāsil al-Ṭuruq' and the *salāsil* which figure in the *ijāzāt* of the *ṭarīqa* are identical and have the same uninterrupted sequence of *mashāyikh*, there seems every reason to suppose that this office had been held continuously by members of this family in the 18th century.

fact that the two main branches of this *ṭarīqa*, al-Shahāwiyya[58] and al-Sharnūbiyya,[59] arose in the Delta, and also by the fact that they never controlled the shrine of Ibrāhīm al-Disūqī at Disūq.[60] Customarily, however, they received annual payments from the income of this shrine[61] which not only consisted of donations from visitors, but also of allowances paid from the state revenues.[62] Therefore it is probable that the heads of al-Burhāmiyya took an active interest in the appointment to the office of intendant of this shrine.

It is striking that al-Jabartī neither uses the term *shaykh al-sajjāda* nor the term *mashyakha* when referring to the *ṭuruq* which had recently become active in Egypt, or to *ṭuruq* where leadership did not imply the right to certain assets. For these groups the terms *khilāfa*, *shaykh ṭā'ifa*, *shaykh al-sāda*, and *shaykh al-fuqarā'* are used.[63]

Among the four groups of *ṭuruq* referred to by al-Jabartī in the quotation above, the Rifā'iyya is the only one for which the available data do not suggest the existence of a central authority position.[64] Instead, various autonomous Rifā'iyya groups existed, perpetuating the Rifā'iyya Way. Each of these groups was known as *bayt* and the name of its founder was used in order to distinguish it from other Rifā'iyya *buyūt*. The most notable were the *buyūt* of al-Bāz (al-Zaqāzīq area), al-Ḥarīrī, al-Malakī (northern Delta), al-Banafīrī and al-Mazārīqī.[65] The *mashāyikh* of the last-named *bayt*, which had its

[58] Named after Muḥammad al-Shahāwī, born in Nimrat al-Baṣal near al-Maḥalla al-Kubrā in 874 (1469/70), where he also died in 949 (1542/3). His shrine is in the same village; cf. Aḥmad 'Izz al-Dīn 'Abd Allāh Khalaf Allāh, *Min Qādat al-Fikr al-Ṣūfī al-Islāmī, al-Sayyid Ibrāhīm al-Disūqī*, Cairo n.d., 311f.

[59] Named after Aḥmad 'Arab b. 'Uthmān al-Sharnūbī (931-994: 1524/5-1585/6) who was a disciple of Muḥammad al-Shahāwī. The village of Sharnūb in al-Buḥayra province became the centre of the *ṭarīqa*; cf. Khalaf Allāh, *ibid.*, 312f.

[60] Cf. Aḥmad Jalāl al-Dīn al-Karakī, *Ḥayāt Shaykh al-Islām Abī 'l-'Aynayn al-Quṭb al-Sayyid Ibrāhīm al-Disūqī* (Ed. Aḥmad 'Izz al-Dīn Khalaf Allāh), Ṭanṭā 1969, 5, 7, 191f.

[61] Cf. e.g. F. Or. A. 283, I-63/2 (17 Rab. II 1288).

[62] Cf. *Description*, i, 379.

[63] See e.g. *'Ajā'ib*, i, 210; ii, 189; iv, 265.

[64] A central authority position over al-Rifā'iyya may have existed, however, in Mamlūk Egypt; cf. Aḥmad b. 'Alī al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Khiṭaṭ al-Maqrīziyya al-musammā bi'l-Mawā'iẓ wa 'l-I'tibār bi-Dhikr al-Khiṭaṭ wa 'l-Āthār*, iv vols., Cairo 1324-26, iv, 294, where reference is made to the *shaykh al-fuqarā' al-Aḥmadiyya al-Rifā'iyya*.

Amīn Sāmī, *Al-Ta'līm fī Miṣr*, Cairo 1917, *mulḥaq* 7, is in error here when he states that this *shaykh* was the head of al-Aḥmadiyya in Egypt.

[65] Named after Manṣūr al-Bāz al-Baṭā'iḥī (cf. al-Sha'rānī, *Ṭabaqāt*, i, 134), 'Alī Abū 'l-Naṣr Burhān al-Dīn al-Ḥarīrī (cf. Muḥammad Abū 'l-Hudā al Ṣayyādī, *Tanwīr al-Abṣār fī Ṭabaqāt al-Sāda al-Rifā'iyya al-Akhyār*, Cairo 1306, 38), Shams al-Dīn

origin in the *bayt* of al-Ḥarīrī, were in a key position among the various Rifā'iyya groups in Egypt, since they controlled the zāwiyat al-Rifā'iyya near the citadel;[66] this *zāwiya* contained the shrine of 'Alī Abū 'l-Shubbāk, great-grandson of Aḥmad al-Rifā'ī, the founder of the *ṭarīqa*.[67] Within the latter *bayt*, other groups arose in the course of the 18th and early 19th centuries, who transformed themselves into independent *buyūt*, notably the *bayt al-Labbān* and the *bayt al-Maṇāḥ*, out of which the *bayt al-Ḥabībī*[68] emerged. Moreover, a community of Turkish Rifā'īs resided in a *takīya* in Būlāq.[69]

The fact that the *mashāyikh* of the smaller or recently emerged *ṭuruq* (see below), did not make appeals to al-Bakrī, suggests that the larger *ṭuruq* mentioned above had lost some of their capacity to solve conflicts themselves since they had been transformed into large-scale complex organizations. The emergence of Muḥammad Abū 'l-Su'ūd al-Bakrī as an arbiter, and the rise of his authority over these *ṭuruq* lacked official sanction from the rulers and had no roots in tradition, since there had been no precedent of a Bakrī holding authority over the *ṭuruq*. His authority must therefore have been owing to personal qualities and was thus of the charismatic type; the state

al-Qibābī al-Malakī (mentioned in the document referred to in note 68), Maḥmūd al-Banafīrī (or al-Banūfarī; cf. 'Risāla fī Bayān Salāsil al-Ṭuruq', 3), and 'Abd Allāh al-Mazārīqī respectively.

The first three of these *mashāyikh* lived at the end of the 11th and in the early 12th century. The last two must have lived at the beginning of the 18th century as appears from the Rifā'iyya *silsila* given in 'Risāla fī Bayān Salāsil al-Ṭuruq', 3ff. Only the *bayt* named after the last of these *mashāyikh*, al-Malakiyya, had not spread into Egypt from elsewhere, but had emerged in the country itself. For representatives of al-Rifā'iyya active in 13th century Egypt not belonging to any of these *buyūt* see al-Ṣayyādī, *Tanwīr*, 56. For such representatives active in 15th century Egypt, see *idem*, *Khizānat al-Imdād fī Akhbār al-Ghawth al-Kabīr al-Sajjād Mawlānā al-Sayyid 'Izz al-Dīn Aḥmad al-Ṣayyād*, Cairo 1326, 114ff.

[66] In this *zāwiya* an active Rifā'iyya community had been resident since the middle of the 17th century at least; cf. Çelebī, *Seyāhatnāme*, x, 237.

[67] For biographical details and mention of the event to which he owed his *laqab* see al-Ṣayyādī, *Tanwīr* 47f.

[68] All these *buyūt*, with the exception of al-Ḥabībiyya which was to become a separate *ṭarīqa*, still exist today as semi-independent sub-sections within *al-ṭarīqa al-Rifā'iyya*. In a document (*darj*) recording genealogies of Sīdī Manṣūr al-Bāz al-Baṭā'ihī (cf. note 65) in the possession of the author (for a photocopy of the relevant section, see MS Leiden Or. 14431/I), al-Baṭā'iḥiyya, which seems to be used as an alternative name for al-Bāziyya, claim authority over al-Malakiyya; this mirrors the fluctuating claims for suzerainty between the various *buyūt* and confirms the absence of a central *mashyakha* or *sajjāda*.

[69] See *Khiṭ.*, vi, 55f.

of anarchy prevailing in Egypt at the time, the concomitant breakdown of the judicial structure, combined with a preference for submitting disputes to a non-Turkish arbiter must all have contributed to the rise and consolidation of this authority. The exact nature of his jurisdiction, the ways in which he could intervene in disputes and whether and how his decisions were enforced is not clear. Moreover, there is nothing to suggest that potential incumbents of the authority positions over these *ṭuruq* were dependent upon his approval before they could have these offices registered in their names in court.[70] Muḥammad Abū 'l-Su'ūd al-Bakrī's compliance, however, may have contributed to the legitimacy of the authority claimed. His authority did not transcend the *ṭuruq* realm and remained politically insignificant as is shown by the absence of his name from al-Jabartī's account of the events preceding Muḥammad 'Alī's final consolidation of power by 1812.[71]

e. *The formalization of al-Bakrī's authority and Muḥammad Alī's policy*

In November 1812 Muḥammad Abū 'l-Su'ūd died. Shortly before his death Muḥammad al-Shanawānī, the then *shaykh al-Azhar*, a number of *'ulamā'* and heads of *ṭuruq* went, at Muḥammad Abū 'l-Su'ūd's request, together with his son Muḥammad, to the *Bāshā* to ask him to invest this son in his place.[72] Upon Muḥammad al-Bakrī's investiture as *shaykh al-sajjāda al-Bakriyya* a *firmān* was issued containing an explicit statement of his authority over the *ṭuruq* in Egypt, as well as over the *takāyā*, *zawāyā* and shrines.[73]

That the issuing of this *firmān* was part of Muḥammad 'Alī's reforms aimed at centralization of government[74] seems too easy an explanation, and in view of its contents it seems unlikely that the investiture was

[70] See the texts of the various *ḥujaj* in Shams al-Dīn, 24ff., and DMS, al-Bāb al-'Ālī, *sijill* 3, *mādda* 300 (10 Rab. I 1227). Further research in Cairo archives is required before a more detailed account of the practices existing in this respect can be presented.

[71] His political insignificance is also suggested by the fact that Bastiani, the first French Consul to Egypt after the French evacuation, appears not to have known of him; cf. G. Douin, *L'Égypte de 1802 à 1804, Correspondance des Consuls de France en Égypte*, Cairo 1925, 15.

[72] *'Ajā'ib*, iv, 165.

[73] For a photocopy of the original *firmān*, see F. Or. A. 284, II/3 (27 Shaw. 1227). It was published in almost complete form in *B.S.*, 377f. See appendix I for a translation of this document.

[74] For this view see e.g. D. Crecelius, 'Non-ideological Responses of the Egyptian Ulama to Modernization', in Keddie (ed.), *Scholars*, 180.

merely the generous compliance of the *Bāshā* with an innocent demand of the *'ulamā'*[75] — an isolated incident unconnected with current events. Rather, the *firmān* seems to have been instrumental to Muḥammad 'Alī's political objectives. It undermined the position of Muḥammad Abū 'l-Anwār al-Sādāt, the *shaykh al-sajjāda al-Wafā'iyya* and then *naqīb al-ashrāf*.[76] Many heads of the *ṭuruq*, of the *zawāyā*, *takāyā* and the attendants of the shrines claimed sharifian origin. By giving al-Bakrī exclusive jurisdiction over them, the area within which al-Sādāt could legally exercise his authority was considerably curtailed. Moreover, the authority given to al-Bakrī implied the possibility of his exercising indirect control over the administration of the *awqāf al-ashrāf*, where *niẓārāt* of *awqāf* with *ashrāf* among the beneficiaries was to be exercised by incumbents whose appointment was made dependent upon al-Bakrī's approval.[77]

In particular, however, the legalization and extension of al-Bakrī's authority seems to have been aimed at further undermining the position of the *'ulamā'*, shortly before Muḥammad 'Alī embarked upon his most decisive series of land and tax reforms between 1812 and 1814.[78] This made them financially dependent on the ruler to a great extent. Many well-known *'ulamā'* were practising mystics and members or heads of *ṭuruq*.[79] In particular al-Khalwatiyya and its

[75] E.g. F. Mengin, *Histoire de l'Égypte sous le Gouvernement de Mohammed-Aly*, ii vols., Paris 1823, i, 396.

[76] He had been appointed in succession to 'Umar Makram al-Asyūṭī in 1809 and was to hold this office until his death in March 1813; cf. appendix IX. For his biography see *'Ajā'ib*, iv, 185. That Muḥammad 'Alī was eager to eliminate Muḥammad Abū 'l-Anwār al-Sādāt's authority may be inferred from al-Jabartī's account of the events following this *shaykh*'s death; cf. *'Ajā'ib*, iv, 195ff.

[77] E.g. the *waqf* of Ismā'īl Khayriyya, *ma'tūq* Khalīl Bāshā: WA, no. 297 (8 Jumādā I 1205). The *nāẓir* had to be *shaykh* of the shrine of Sulaymān al-Khuḍayrī. A part of the proceeds of this *waqf* had to be distributed to the *ashrāf* among the inmates of the zāwiyat al-Khuḍayrī attached to the shrine. I am grateful to the *khaṭīb* of the mosque of al-Khuḍayrī, *al-Shaykh* 'Abd al-'Alīm Aḥmad Ismā'īl, who is also *wakīl* of the present-day *ṭarīqa al-Khuḍayriyya al-Khalwatiyya*, for drawing my attention to this *waqfiyya*. On al-Khuḍayrī, see Aḥmad Fahmī Maḥmūd, *Abū 'l-Rabī'ayn 'Alam al-Dīn Sīdī Sulaymān al-Khuḍayrī*, Cairo n.d.

[78] For a concise summary of these reforms, see H. A. B. Rivlin, *The Agricultural Policy of Muhammad 'Alī in Egypt*, Cambridge, Mass. 1961, 52ff.

[79] Both Aḥmad al-Jawharī (d. 1182: 1768) and his son Muḥammad Abū 'l-Hādī (d. 1215: 1801) for instance, were prominent *mashāyikh* of al-Shādhiliyya and lectured at al-Azhar and at al-Ḥusayn mosque; cf. *'Ajā'ib*, i, 309ff.; iii, 164f. For their writings, see *GAL*, G ii, 311; S ii, 459; G ii, 252, 488; and S ii, 744. Similarly, the well-known Azharī scholars Muḥammad al-Amīr al-Kabīr (d. 1232: 1817) and his son Muḥammad al-Amīr al-Ṣaghīr (d. ?) headed a Shādhiliyya *ṭarīqa*; cf. *'Ajā'ib*, iv, 284f.

branches had been *'ulamā'* and even Azhar-based, ever since Muṣṭafā Kamāl al-Dīn al-Bakrī's (d. 1161 : 1749)[80] principal *khalīfa* for Egypt, Muḥammad b. Sālim al-Ḥifnī,[81] had been *shaykh al-Azhar* from 1171 : 1757 to 1181 : 1767. Among his *khulafā'* were notable scholars who had held important religious offices, e.g. Ismā'īl al-Ghunaymī,[82] *shaykh al-Mālikiyya*;[83] Muḥammad al-Munīr al-Sammanūdī, *shaykh al-qurrā'* and *al-muḥaddithīn* in al-Azhar;[84] Aḥmad al-Dardayr, (1127-1201 : 1715-1786),[85] *shaykh al-Mālikiyya*; and Maḥmūd al-Kurdī (1130-1195 : 17-17-1780).[86] Al-Kurdī's *khalīfa* 'Abd Allāh al-Sharqāwī had also been *shaykh al-Azhar* from 1208 : 1793 to 1227 : 1812.[87] A certain animosity existed between the Azhar-based Khalwatiyya groups and the *ṭuruq* over which Muḥammad Abū 'l-Su'ūd's authority had come to be accepted, because of condemnation by the former of particular practices and beliefs characteristic of the latter[88] and considered to be popular *ṭuruq*.[89] By the *firmān* both groups had come

[80] He was the great revivalist of al-Khalwatiyya in the 17th century; cf. C. Brockelmann, 'Al-Bakrī, Muṣṭafā Kamāl al-Dīn', *E.I.*², i, 965f.

[81] For his biography and for biographies of his disciples, see Ḥasan Shamma al-Fūwī, *Muntahā al-'Ibārāt fī ba'ḍ mā li- Shaykhinā min al-Karāmāt*, Cairo 1374. See also *'Ajā'ib*, i, 289f.

[82] Cf. *'Ajā'ib*, i, 290; Muḥammad al-Muṣaylihī Ḥusayn, *Al-Majmū'a al-'Aliyya*, Cairo n.d., 8; and al-Fūwī, 102ff.

[83] On the office of *shaykh al-sāda al-Mālikiyya* in al-Azhar, cf. Sulaymān al-Zayyātī, *Kanz al-Jawhar fī Ta'rīkh al-Azhar*, Cairo n.d., 159ff.

[84] *'Ajā'ib*, i, 297.

[85] *Ibid.*, 147f.

[86] *Ibid.*, 61-68.

[87] For his biography see *'Ajā'ib*, iv, 159-165.

[88] See for instance al-Jabartī's criticism of al-'Īsawiyya in *'Ajā'ib*, iii, 39f., and of the *mawlid* of 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-'Afīfī, in *'Ajā'ib*, i, 220f. See also Muṣṭafā Kamāl al-Dīn al-Bakrī, *Al-Manhaj al-'Adhb al-Sā'igh li-Wurrādihi fī Dhikr Ṣalawāt al-Ṭarīq wa Awrādihi*, Cairo 1332, 124ff. and 'Abd al-Qādir b. Muḥyī 'l-Dīn al-Arbilī, *Ḥujjat al-Dhākirīn wa Radd al-Munkarīn*, Alexandria 1299, 43.

The dialogues about certain forms of *dhikr* in al-Nābulusī's 'Riḥla' (fol. 242a,b) are also instructive in this respect. It may be noted that al-Nābulusī visited only the *takāyā* of the more respectable Turkish *ṭuruq*, like al-Mawlawiyya, al-Gulshaniyya and al-Bektāshiyya. In the account of his visit to the mosque of al-Ḥākim bi-Amr Allāh, he mentions that he participated in a *ḥaḍra* of the Sa'diyya order but adds as an excuse that he did so *li-ajli al-baraka*; cf. al-Nābulusī, fol. 240a.

For criticism of observed differences between the *ṭuruq* in Anatolia and the *ṭuruq* in Egypt — notably the former's custom of flying banners (*bawāriq*) in processions (*mawākib*) — by a late 16th century Turkish visitor to Egypt, see A. Tietze, *Muṣṭafā 'Alī's Description of Cairo in 1599*, Wien 1975, 47. For a short discussion of *taṣawwuf* in al-Azhar during the Ottoman era, mainly based upon al-Ṭawīl's study, see B. Dodge, *Al-Azhar. A Millenium of Muslim Learning*, Washington, D.C. 1961, 84-6.

[89] It seems reasonable to take al-Jabartī's derogatory remarks about these *ṭuruq* (cf. *'Ajā'ib*, iii, 39; iv, 120; iv, 190) as representative of the opinion current within the Azhar circles in this respect, since that was the milieu in which he was immersed. See in this context D. Ayalon, 'The Historian al-Jabartī and his Background', *BSOAS*, 23 (1960), 237ff. However, these *ṭuruq* also had *'ulamā'* among their members; cf. Raymond, *Artisans*, 436.

under al-Bakrī's jurisdiction and he had received the right to intervene in their affairs and to appoint their chiefs. In this way the authority of *ṭuruq*-based power positions occupied by the *'ulamā'* was undermined and their power consequently reduced.

Moreover, the investiture of al-Bakrī with exclusive authority over the *ṭuruq* and *ṭuruq*-linked institutions had created an office which, in many respects, counterbalanced that of the *shaykh al-Azhar*, not least because the supervision over teaching and courses given in many of the *zawāyā*, *takāyā* and shrine-mosques was delegated to al-Bakrī.[90] The *Bāshā* had thus created a framework within which "the old conflict between transcendental unitarianism and Sufism"[91] could be manipulated and made instrumental in his aim of reducing *'ulamā'* power.[92]

From this time onward, the importance of *taṣawwuf* as one of the disciplines taught at al-Azhar decreased.[93] The *firmān*, it might be suggested, is the genesis of the transformation of al-Azhar into a stronghold of orthodoxy and a centre of opposition towards those propagating a mystical conception of Islam. Its proclamation widened the gap between *'ilm* and *taṣawwuf* and contributed to the ossification of Islamic mysticism in Egypt, since the opportunity for the head of a *ṭarīqa* to obtain official sanction from al-Bakrī eliminated — at least partially — the need to prove himself as a scholar.

[90] For details of education at some of the *ṭuruq*-linked institutions, see J. Heyworth-Dunne, *An Introduction to the History of Education in Modern Egypt*, London 1968, (reprint) 19ff.

[91] H. A. R. Gibb, *Modern Trends in Islam*, Chicago 1945, 45.

[92] Similarly the creation of comparable power positions in Mecca, Madina and Jidda during the Egyptian occupation of the Ḥijāz (cf. A. Le Chatelier, *Les Confréries Musulmanes du Hedjaz*, Paris 1887, 4) must surely have been intended as part of an overall policy. In this case it would have been the curbing of Wahhābī-power, insofar as it manifested itself in the institutions of learning in the former two cities and among the *'ulamā'*-class.

[93] For a list of mystical texts studied at al-Azhar at that time see Heyworth-Dunne, *An Introduction*, 56f. Lane, writing in 1835, does not mention *taṣawwuf* as one of the subjects of study; cf. Lane, 216. It was taught, however, in 1864. In later curricula, it no longer appears to have had any place. See Wizārat al-Awqāf wa Shu'ūn al-Azhar, *Al-Azhar, Ta'rīkhuhu wa Taṭawwuruhu*, Cairo 1964, 277ff.

f. *The shrine- and takīya-based ṭuruq*

As mentioned above, the *firmān* not only gave al-Bakrī authority over the *ṭuruq*, but also over the *takāyā*, *zawāyā* and shrines. Without explicit mention of this, legal exercise of authority would have been possible only over a limited number of *ṭuruq*, since supreme leadership of several *ṭuruq* was identical with the *mashyakha* of a shrine, a *zāwiya* or a *takīya*, of which incumbents obtained legal tenure by registration of the office in their name in court.[94] Moreover, it would have left open the opportunity for the heads of *ṭuruq* in control of such institutions to present themselves as *mashāyikh* of *takāyā* etc. in order to escape control by al-Bakrī.

Among the *ṭuruq* in which supreme leadership was identical with intendantship of a shrine was al-Qāsimiyya al-Shādhiliyya,[95] a *ṭarīqa* which had been introduced into Egypt in the first half of the 18th century. After the death of its first *khalīfa* for Egypt, Muḥammad Kishk, in 1170 (1756/57),[96] the latter's shrine had become the centre of this *ṭarīqa* under his successor ʿAlī al-Ḥabbāk.[97] When ʿAlī al-Ḥabbāk died in 1195 (1780), supreme leadership of the *ṭarīqa* and *niẓāra* of the shrine passed to his *khalīfa* Muḥammad Muṣṭafā al-Barmūnī.[98]

Another *ṭarīqa* in which supreme leadership and control of a shrine were identical was al-ʿAfīfiyya, a branch of al-Shādhiliyya, which had

[94] See e.g. DMS, al-Bāb al-ʿĀlī, *sijill* 2, *mādda* 594, p. 363 (26 Shaw. 1218); *idem*, *sijill* 1, *mādda* 319, p. 146 (21 Ṣaf. 1155); *idem*, *sijill* 1, *mādda* 411, p. 268 (27 Qaʿda 1202); *idem*, *sijill* 1, *mādda* 488, p. 233 (10 Qaʿda 1155).

[95] The Shādhiliyya *ṭuruq* trace themselves back to Abū 'l-Ḥasan al-Shādhilī (d. 633 : 1236). Al-Qāsimiyya al-Shādhiliyya takes its name from a certain Sīdī Qāsim, a Moroccan, held to be the founder of this *ṭarīqa*.

[96] Cf. *ʿAjāʾib*, i, 210.

[97] Cf. *ibid.*, i, 107.

[98] This is the succession given in the *ijāzāt* of the present-day Qāsimiyya. However, the lapse of approximately 92 years between the death of ʿAlī al-Ḥabbāk in 1195 (1780) and the death of Muḥammad Muṣṭafā al-Barmūnī in 1288 (1871/2) makes it very unlikely that he was his direct successor or even that he was initiated by him. So, an obscure period exists in the history of the *ṭarīqa*. This period, however, partly coincides with the rise of the Jawharī family into the higher strata of Egyptian society (cf. note 79) and the apparent recognition of Muḥammad Abū 'l-Maʿālī al-Jawharī as *shaykh* of all the Shādhiliyya *ṭuruq* in Egypt (see below p. 38). This makes it likely that for a part of this period al-Qāsimiyya fell under al-Jawharī's jurisdiction. The fact that al-Qāsimiyya is not mentioned in 'Risāla fī Bayān Salāsil al-Ṭuruq', but manifested itself again as a distinct group after Muḥammad Abū 'l-Maʿālī's death, when his son Ḥasan had succeeded him not as *shaykh al-Shādhiliyya* but as *shaykh qurrāʾ al-Ḥizb al-Shādhilī* (see below p. 112), adds to the likelihood of this.

originated in Egypt. This was named after ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-ʿAfīfī (d. 1172 : 1758),[99] who had been initiated by Muṣṭafā Kamāl al-Dīn al-Bakrī into al-Khalwatiyya, and by Aḥmad al-Tawwātī into al-Shādhiliyya of which *ṭarīqa* he propagated his own version. After ʿAbd al-Wahhāb's death, his shrine near the mosque of Qāyitbāy became the centre of activity for this *ṭarīqa*, which counted *ʿulamāʾ* among its membership.[100] It was condemned by al-Jabartī, however, for practices he considered as *bidaʿ*, in particular during the *mawlid*,[101] about which he laments.

The Khalwatiyya branches, which had a centralized leadership identical with the office of *shaykh al-takīya* and which implied interests in or *niẓāra* over extensive *awqāf*, were al-Gulshaniyya[102] and al-Demirdāshiyya[103] founded by Ibrāhīm Gulshānī (d. 940 : 1534)[104] and Muḥammad Demirdāsh al-Muḥammadī (d. 929 : 1522/24)[105] respectively. These mystics had come to Egypt shortly before the Ottoman occupation and hence had a long established tradition. Within al-Demirdāshiyya supreme leadership tended to be held by members of the same family,[106] while within al-Gulshaniyya blood relationship with the founder does not appear to have been decisive for its ascription.[107]

[99] He was very much revered by the Mamlūk *umarāʾ*; cf. *ʿAjāʾib*, i, 220.

[100] *ʿAjāʾib*, i, 221.

[101] *Ibid.*

[102] Cf. *Khiṭ.*, vi, 54f., and WA, no. 432 (10 Shaʿbān 948); no. 433 (Rab. II 1125); no. 435 (29 Raj 1268); no. 741 (5 Raj. 1110); no. 1152 (21 Rab. I 1247); no. 1191 (18 Jum. I 1163); no. 1192 (18 Jum. I 1163); no. 3049 (Ḥijja 1250); and also DMS, al-Bāb al-ʿĀlī, *sijill* 7, *mādda* 455, p. 180 (15 Jum. II 1259).

[103] I have not been able to trace *waqf* documents relative to this *ṭarīqa* in the Cairo archives. However, the present-day *shaykh* of al-Demirdāshiyya, Ḥusayn al-Ṣayyādī allowed me to consult an undated summary of a *waqfiyya* in his possession. In this summary, mention was made of the provisions laid down in the original *waqfiyya* for the free distribution of food to the poor on Thursday nights, when the principal weekly session of the *ṭarīqa* took place. On the *awqāf al-Demirdāshiyya* see also *Al-Ahrām*, 2 December 1962.

[104] For him, see Tahsin Yazıcı, 'Gulshanī' in *E.I.*², ii, 1136f.

[105] For his biography see al-Shaʿrānī, *Ṭabaqāt*, ii, 147.

[106] Cf. Muḥammad Nūr Ṣāliḥ al-Sirjānī, *Risālat al-Silsila al-Dhahabiyya fī Tarājim Rijāl al-Sāda al-Khalwatiyya al-Demirdāshiyya*, Cairo 1319.

[107] His son Aḥmad Khayālī succeeded him, yet none of the *mashāyikh* known to have been in charge of the main *takīya* of the *ṭarīqa* in Cairo seems to have been his descendant. In the *waqf* documents referred to in note 102, the following heads of the *takīya* are mentioned: Ḥasan Efendī, known as Yaḥyā Zādeh (in 1110), ʿAlī Efendī b. Ibrāhīm b. Nūr al-Dīn (in 1125), and Muṣṭafā Ḥalabī (in 1268). In 1597 (Ṣaf. 1006) supervision of the *awqāf* was restored to al-Gulshanī's grand-daughter

Ṭarīqa leadership and the office of *shaykh al-takīya* were also identical within al-Mawlawiyya, whose *takīya* had a certain renown.[108] These positions were also identical with the office of *nāẓir* of its *awqāf*.[109] They were not restricted to members of the same family and the primary allegiance of the incumbent was to the mother *takīya* in Turkey.[110]

Another *ṭarīqa* with its centre in Anatolia and represented in Egypt, was al-Bektāshiyya. The existence of three *takāyā* of this *ṭarīqa* is reported in the 1570's by Evliyā Çelebī.[111] The main centre was the takīyat Qaṣr al-'Aynī, which was the only one remaining at the beginning of the 19th century when the *firmān* was issued.[112] The supreme head of this *ṭarīqa* in the *takīya* of Ḥājjī Bektāsh in Anatolia played a rôle in the appointment of the *shaykh* of this *takīya*,[113] which was a beneficiary of extensive *awqāf*.[114] The Mamlūk *umarā'* sometimes

since, according to the stipulations of the *wāqif*, one of his descendants had to be *nāẓir*. It is not known how long this arrangement was continued. Cf. Nahum, *firmān* 1.

[108] Cf. al-Nābulusī, fol. 189[a]; Çelebī, *Seyāḥatnāme*, x, 252f.

[109] WA, no. 865 (3 Ṣaf. 1280); no. 2816 (17 Rab. I 1073, 12 Ṣaf. 1106, 23 Muḥ. 1106, 2 Jum. I 1183, Qa'da 1216); no. 3301 (17 Ṣaf. 1016). Besides revenues from *awqāf*, the residents of this *takīya* also received a monthly allowance from the revenues of the office of *tārikhjī*, constituted by the *dīvānefendisi*; cf. J. Deny, *Sommaire des archives turques du Caire*, Le Caire 1930, plate vii.

[110] Cf. DWQ, *daftar* 631 (Dīwān Khudaywī Turkī), p. 52, *waṯīqa* 613 (20 Ram. 1232); *daftar* 732 (same date), p. 10, *waṯīqa* 451 (4 Jum. I 1242); *daftar* 733 (same date), p. 23, *waṯīqa* 116 (15 Shaw. 1242).

[111] Çelebī, *Seyāḥatnāme*, x, 246ff.

[112] See Aḥmad Sirrī Dedeh Bābā, *Al-Risāla al-Aḥmadiyya fī Ta'rīkh al-Ṭarīqa al-Bektāshiyya*, Cairo 1959, 38ff.

[113] In the early 18th century, the *takīya* was considered as belonging to the *mustaḥfiẓān* and its head does not seem to have owed either the legitimacy or the legality of his office to any confirmation by the Dede Baba, the supreme head of the Bektāshī order residing at the *tekke* of Ḥājjī Bektāsh in Anatolia; cf. S. Faroqhi, 'Bektaschiklöster in Anatolien vor 1826 — Fragestellungen und Quellenprobleme', *Der Islam* liii (1976), i, 43. At least from the 18th century onwards until 1826, appointment of the heads of Bektāshī *tekke*s and of other office-holders attached to these establishments, such as supervisors (*nuẓẓār*) of *awqāf* established in their favour (whenever this function was not identical with the office of *shaykh* of the *tekke*), was by the Porte upon nomination by the Dede Baba. Appointment was by *berāt*, which had to be duly registered in the local Court before the potential incumbent to the office of head of a *tekke* could legally exercise the functions attached to this office; cf. Faroqhi, 57ff.

[114] Cf. DMS, al-Bāb al-'Ālī, *sijill* 283, *mādda* 460, p. 315 (28 Ḥijja 1187) and *mādda* 461, p. 316 (20 Muḥ. 1188), being the text of the act of secession of the palace of Qaṣr al-'Aynī and its surrounding lands, bordering the *takīya* of al-Bektāshiyya, by Muḥammad Āghā to Muḥammad Bek Abū 'l-Dhabab, (who in the course of the struggles between the Mamlūk factions, had just assumed supremacy in Cairo; cf. P. M. Holt, *Egypt and the Fertile Crescent 1516-1922. A Political History*. Ithaca/New York 1966, 93) and the text of the *waqfiyya*, by which Abū 'l-Dhahab turned it into a *waqf* for the benefit of the Bektāshīs. For other *awqāf* to this *takīya*: see WA, no. 945 (end of Ḥijja 1075). In the latter document the *takīya* is referred to as takīyat al-A'jam. Aḥmad Çelebī, 'Awdaḥ al-Ishārāt', fol. 79[b], refers to it as takīyat al-Inkishāriyya (the Janissary takīya). This reflects the extent to which, in Cairo (and Istanbul) at least, Bektāshīs and Janissaris had become involved with each other; cf. Faroqhi, 42ff. See also note 113.

intervened in its intendancy, however, as appears from al-Jabartī's chronicle, and legality of claims was not decisive for installation in this office.[115]

The centre for al-Sa'diyya, a *ṭarīqa* founded by Sa'd al-Dīn al-Jibāwī,[116] was the shrine near Bāb al-Naṣr, of Yūnis al-Shaybānī, to whom is attributed a revival of the *ṭarīqa* in Egypt.[117] Control of this shrine and its adjacent *zāwiya* was identical with supreme leadership of the *ṭarīqa*.[118] The active participation of this *ṭarīqa* in public celebrations is mentioned by al-Jabartī[119] but he omits mention of the *dawsa* (see below p. 63 and p. 65), by which ritual it obtained celebrity.[120]

g. *Ṭuruq without material assets*

In addition to these *ṭuruq*, various groups existed whose leaders did not control shrines or residential communities and which were basically associations under *mashāyikh* whose only authority was legitimate. Among these were some Shādhiliyya branches, notably al-'Īsawiyya and al-'Arabiyya. The former had been founded by the Moroccan Muḥammad b. 'Īsā.[121] They were active in Cairo and participated in public occasions like the *mawlid al-nabī* as reported by al-Jabartī, who qualifies them as *ahl al-bida'*.[122] Al-'Arabiyya, about which al-Jabartī makes equally derogatory remarks,[123] had been founded by a Moroccan, Muḥammad al-'Arabī, of whose career little is known. He arrived in Egypt somewhere at the beginning of the

[115] *'Ajā'ib*, ii, 144.

[116] For his biography see Aḥmad Ḥilmī, *Ḥadīqat al-Awliyā'*, vii vols., Istanbul 1318, vii, 50, and Ḥamūda b. 'Alī al-Khuḍarī, *Al-Wafā' bi'l-'Ahd*, Cairo 1383, 167f.

[117] *Khiṭ.*, vi, 52.

[118] Cf. WA, no. 1180 (18 Ram. 1251).

[119] *'Ajā'ib*, iv, 190.

[120] On this ritual, see D. B. Macdonald, 'Dawsa (Dōsa)', *E.I.*[2], ii, 181f.

[121] On al-'Īsawiyya and its founder see R. Brunel, *Essai sur la Confrérie Religieuse des 'Aissâoûa au Maroc*, Paris 1926. This work gives no information about the *ṭarīqa* in Egypt.

[122] See *'Ajā'ib*, iii, 39f., where a description of 'Īsawiyya ritual is found.

[123] *Ibid.*

17th century and was also initiated into al-Aḥmadiyya by Aḥmad al-Shinnāwī,[124] thus uniting the Ways of al-Shādhiliyya and al-Aḥmadiyya. Under his disciples and their *khulafā'* his *ṭarīqa* was presented as al-'Arabiyya al-Aḥmadiyya al-Shādhiliyya. In al-Jabartī's days one of the more important *khulafā'* was the well-known *Azharī* scholar Muḥammad al-Amīr (see above note 79).

A Khalwatiyya branch which al-Jabartī viewed with equally strong disfavour, was al-Sammāniyya, founded by one of Muṣṭafā Kamāl al-Dīn al-Bakrī's *khulafā'*, Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Karīm al-Sammān (1132-1189 : 1718-1775),[125] who had given his master's Way a stamp of his own. It was introduced into Egypt by his son Ḥammad al-Ibādī.[126] The latter's shrine near al-Imām al-Shāfi'ī served as the focus of the *ṭarīqa* and was controlled by its *khulafā'*. No supreme leader arose among them, however, until the second half of the 19th century.[127]

Finally, mention should be made of al-Naqshbandiyya. This *ṭarīqa* is known to have had representatives in Egypt from at least the beginning of the 18th century.[128] However, no self-perpetuating group seems to have come into being, but at times the *takāyā* of Ḥasan al-Rūmī,[129] al-Uzbak[130] and Darb Qirmiz[131] were headed or controlled by *mashāyikh* who belonged to this *ṭarīqa* and hence they may be supposed to have been foci of Naqshbandī activity.

[124] Aḥmad al-Shinnāwī was the twelfth *khalīfat al-maqām al-Aḥmadī*, and son of 'Abd al-Majīd (d. 965 : 1557/8); cf. Ṭu'ayma, 108-9.

[125] *'Ajā'ib*, i, 417. For a description of their *dhikr* see *Description*, i, 711-2.

[126] He had been initiated into al-Khalwatiyya by his father's *khalīfa* 'Abd al-Ghanī Ghunaym Abū Fayḍ al-Dīn (d. 1309 : 1891/2), after whom a *ṭarīqa* founded by his successors would later be named al-Fayḍiyya; see al-Ḥarīrī, i, fol. 306[a]. The activities of this *ṭarīqa* seem to have been confined to Istanbul. In later *ijāzāt* of al-Sammāniyya, the name of this *shaykh* is dropped and it is suggested that Ḥammad was initiated by his father directly.

[127] See F. Or. A. 283, V-11 (18)/2 (21 Raj. 1296); *idem*, V-23(3)/1 (14 Ṣaf. 1297).

[128] See *'Ajā'ib*, i, 89; DMS, al-Bāb al-'Ālī, *mus.* 283, *mādda* 408, p. 208 (undated). Reference is made to the report of the *nāẓir al-awqāf* of the *takīya* of Ḥasan al-Rūmī al-Naqshbandī, Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Uzbakī al-Naqshbandī, dated 24 Shaw. 1123. 'Abd al-Raḥmān 'Abd al-Nawwāb, 'Qā'imat al-Makhṭūṭāt Dār al-Kutub bi'l-Manṣūra', *Majallat Ma'had al Makhṭūṭāt al-'Arabiyya*, 1958 (iv)/2, 265, mentions a Naqshbandiyya *ijāza* dated 1034 (1624/5). This suggests an even earlier presence of al-Naqshbandiyya in Egypt. Unfortunately, it has not been possible for me to consult the *ijāza* itself, owing to the reluctance of the Egyptian Ministry of the Interior to give permission for a visit to al-Manṣūra for this purpose in 1973.

[129] Khiṭ., vi, 55. See also note 128.

[130] See e.g. F. Or. A. 283, II-15/7, 8, 9, (11 Jum. I 1289).

[131] Cf. 'Ijāza bi-Ṭarīq al-Naqshbandiyya min al-Shaykh Aḥmad Khākī li-Aḥmad Ḥādhiq', MS Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya no. 708 (*taṣawwuf*).

h. *The takāyā and zawāyā*

In addition to the *takāyā* mentioned above, the following are known to have existed at the beginning of the 19th century :[132] Taqī 'l-Dīn al-'Ajamī (founded approx. 720 : 1320),[133] al-Ḥabbāniyya (founded in 1162 : 1749),[134] al-Qawṣūniyya,[135] Būlāq,[136] Shaykhū,[137] al-Ghannāmiyya,[138] al-Sulaymāniyya,[139] al-Sayyida Ruqayya,[140] al-Hunūd[141] and al-Rukubiyya.[142] Traditionally a number of these *takāyā* were controlled and inhabited by members of particular *ṭuruq*, e.g. of al-Qādiriyya in the case of the takīyat Shaykhū[143] and the takīyat al-Sulaymāniyya,[144] and of al-Rifā'iyya in the case of the takīyat Būlāq.[145] In other *takāyā* residents used to come from particular regions, e.g. Bukhārīs in the takīyat al-Hunūd and Persians in the takīyat Taqī 'l-Dīn.[146] Others, such as the takīyat al-Ḥabbāniyya and the takīyat al-Ghannāmiyya do not seem to have been led or inhabited by distinctive groups.[147]

In documents preserved in the Cairo archives, the takīyat al-Ghannāmiyya is referred to as *zāwiya*. This is also the case with the takīyat

[132] Although we have no primary evidence of the active functioning of these *takāyā* around 1812, the majority had a resident population in Ottoman Egypt (cf. Çelebī, *Seyāḥatnāme*, x, 235ff.) and such was still the case in 1872; see below chapter II. There is no reason to suppose that they had temporarily stopped functioning around 1812.

[133] Cf. Khiṭ., ii, 54, 104. It was also known as takīyat al-Bisṭāmī [cf. F. Or. A. 283, I - 63/3 (20 Rab. II 1288)] and after 1201 (1286/7) when a *firmān* was issued stipulating that the *shaykh* of this *takīya* would be a Bukhārī henceforward, as takīyat al-Uzbak; cf. F. Or. A. 283, I-69/1 (25 Jum. II 1288).

[134] Also known as takīyat al-Sulṭān Maḥmūd; cf. Khiṭ., iv, 54; vi, 55.

[135] Also known as al-Qayṣūniyya or takīyat Qayṣūn; cf. Khiṭ., ii, 40; vi, 55; *Description*, ii, 593.

[136] Khiṭ., vi, 56.

[137] Also known as takīyat Shaykhūn or al-Shaykhūniyya; cf. Khiṭ., vi, 56.

[138] Also known as takīyat al-Shaykh Ghannām; cf. Khiṭ., vi, 56.

[139] Identical to takīyat al-Surūjiyya founded in 920; cf. *ibid.*

[140] Cf. Khiṭ., ii, 104; vi, 57, and E. Bannerth, *Islamische Wallfahrtsstätten Kairos*, Kairo 1973, 35.

[142] Khiṭ., ii, 104; vi, 57.

[142] This *takīya* was also known as takīyat al-Lū'lū'; cf. Khiṭ., vi, 57.

[143] This was the case at least as far back as the end of the 17th century; cf. Çelebī, *Seyāḥatnāme*, x, 240f., and al-Ḥarīrī, iii, 129, where reference is to Niyāzī al-Miṣrī's initiation into al-Qādiriyya by the head of this *takīya* during his stay in Cairo. On Niyāzī see Abdülbâkî Gölpınarlı 'Niyāzī', in *Islam Ansiklopedisi*, ix, 305-7.

[144] Khiṭ., vi, 56.

[145] Also known as takīyat al-Rifā'iyya; cf. Khiṭ., vi, 56; Ilyās Zakhūrā, *Mir'āt al-'Aṣr fī Ta'rikh wa Rusūm Akābir Rijāl Miṣr*, iii vols., Cairo 1897, i, 224 *d.*

[146] Cf. F. Or. A. 283, I-69/1 (25 Jum. II 1288).

[147] See Khiṭ., iii, 130; vi, 54ff.

al-Surūjiyya (al-Sulaymāniyya).[148] The usage of the terms *takīya* (pl. *takāyā*) and *zāwiya* (pl. *zawāyā*) appears to have been inconsistent, in particular during the later 19th century.[149] The larger establishments, supported by substantial revenues from *awqāf* and in which a community of *ṣūfīs* resided under the leadership of a *shaykh*, who by virtue of his office held certain rights to pensions, stipends and other payments in money and kind,[150] were mainly designated by the term *takāyā*. Many of the *zawāyā*, which were much smaller institutions, received financial support similar to the *takāyā*.[151] Little is known about the *ṭarīqa* affiliations of their residents or about control by particular *ṭuruq*.[152] Nor is much known of the numerous shrines,[153] including those previously mentioned as being centres of *ṭarīqa* activity and over which al-Bakrī had hardly any jurisdiction.[154] Control of the more important shrines of saints[155] tended to rest with certain families, in many cases descendants of the saint whose shrine they controlled.[156] Legality of incumbency was obtained by registration at the local court after due verification of the claims of the potential incumbent by the *qāḍī*.[157]

[148] E.g. in WA, no. 510 (8 Shaw. 1231) and *Khiṭ.*, vi, 28.

[149] See *Description*, ii/2, 645, where reference is made to zāwiyat al-Hunūd; compare also *Khiṭ.*, iii, 56 (takīyat al-Ghannāmiyya), and vi, 28 (zāwiyat al-Ghannāmiyya).

[150] Cf. S.J. Shaw, *The Financial and Administrative Organization and Development of Ottoman Egypt, 1517-1798*, Princeton 1962, 235, nos. 48 and 55 for the amounts paid to the institutions from the Imperial Treasury, covering the years 1005, 1082, 1107, 1179 and 1200. They also received part of the tax-grain from the Imperial Granaries in Old Cairo; cf. S. J. Shaw (ed. and trsl.), *Ottoman Egypt in the Eighteenth Century. The Niẓāmnāme-i Mıṣır of Cezzâr Aḥmed Pasha*, Cambridge, Mass. 1964, 45. See also *Description*, ii, 377f., for the amounts which were usually paid to and spent on the maintenance of these institutions.

[151] *Description, ibid;* DMS, *sijill* 7, *mādda* 1, p. 1, for amounts paid to *zawāyā* in Cairo in Ramaḍān 1246.

[152] For a tentative list of *zawāyā* see al-Ṭawīl, 57ff.

[153] See *Description*, i, 378f., for a list of shrines and the amounts spent on their maintenance. In Ottoman Egypt taxes were levied on the tombs of certain saints; cf. Shaw, *Administrative Organization*, 122.

[154] See e.g. F. Or. A. 286, 13/b (dated 1226).

[155] Criteria for importance include quantity and value of offerings made to the shrine, received by the shrine's intendants, the amounts paid to the shrine's intendant(s) in stipends and pensions, and the revenus from its *awqāf*. Only the first criterion depends upon the number of visitors to a particular shrine, which implies popularity.

[156] The shrine of al-Sulṭān al-Ḥanafī, for instance, was controlled by the descendants of this saint's daughter and Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Mun'im al-Bakrī; cf. *'Ajā'ib*, i, 221, and *B.S.*, 212ff. The shrine of al-Sulṭān Abū 'l-'Alā' was controlled by members of the Farghalī family; cf. Tawfīq 'Alī Ḥasan, *Risālatī fī Manāqib al-Sulṭān Abī 'l-'Alā' al-Ḥusaynī*, Cairo 1937, 15f.

[157] See e.g. F. Or. A. 286/28-37 dated 1151 (copied from the original document dated 1101).

i. *The appointment of Muḥammad al-Bakrī as naqīb al-ashrāf and its implications*

Although the *firmān* gave a legal base to the exercise of authority over the aforementioned groups and institutions, it did not sufficiently compensate for the absence of Muḥammad Abū 'l-Su'ūd's charisma. Neither did it set out institutional provisions which would have made up for this absence, or which would have given some coherence to the structural looseness of the domain over which this charismatic leadership had been held, thus allowing for its effective routinization. A solution was partly achieved by his being appointed *naqīb al-ashrāf* by Muḥammad 'Alī in 1816, following the removal of Muḥammad al-Dawākhilī from this office.[158]

This appointment can only partly be explained by the seemingly good relations between Muḥammad al-Bakrī and Muḥammad 'Alī, and al-Bakrī's apparent approval of the latter's policy.[159] Al-Bakrī's investiture, immediately upon al-Dawākhilī's dismissal, was the result of the refusal of Muḥammad 'Alī's favourite, the then *shāhbandar al-tujjār* Muḥammad al-Maḥrūqī, to accept the office.[160] The immediate appointment of a native Egyptian selected by Muḥammad 'Alī seemed imperative in order to prevent the appointment of a *naqīb* sent from Turkey, or the possible intriguing of Aḥmad al-Sādāt, the new *shaykh al-sajjāda al-Wafā'iyya*, in order to obtain a *firmān* from Istanbul investing himself, which was definitely not desired by the *Bāshā*.[161]

By the appointment of Muḥammad al-Bakrī to the *niqābat al-ashrāf* — which office was to be held by his descendants for almost a century[162] — more than the nominal authority of the *niqāba* was added to his power position since these offices were mutually reinforcing. The heads of the *ṭuruq* frequently claimed sharifian descent.

[158] See *'Ajā'ib*, iv, 243; cf. appendix IX, notes 12 and 13.

[159] *B.S.*, 45. Some of the books mentioned here, which were presented by Muḥammad 'Alī to Muḥammad al-Bakrī, are preserved by Muḥammad Kūbilay al-Bakrī, a member of the Bakrī family living in Zamālik, Cairo. He is a cousin of the late Aḥmad Murād al-Bakrī (d. 1970), the last *shaykh al-sajjāda al-Bakriyya*.

[160] I.e. the chief of the merchants in Cairo; cf. *'Ajā'ib*, iv, 243.

[161] The *Bāshā*'s attitude towards the *shaykh al-sādāt* does not appear to have changed since 1813. See above p. 21.

[162] See appendix IX. It was primarily in his capacity as *naqīb al-ashrāf* that Muḥammad al-Bakrī was a member of the *Majlis al-Shūrā* installed by Muḥammad 'Alī in 1245 A. H.; cf. Amīn Sāmī, *Taqwīm al-Nil*, iii vols., 5 parts, Cairo 1916-1936, iii/2, 350.

So by this new arrangement al-Bakrī held authority over them as *naqīb* as well as the authority stipulated in the *firmān*. The proceeds of the *awqāf al-ashrāf* to be distributed by him in his function of *naqīb*, could be used as a convenient device for having his authority accepted, while the registration in the *daftar al-ashrāf* could be made dependent on recognition of his authority.[163] Moreover, the existing administrative organization of the *niqāba*, with its agents in the provinces, could be used to exercise his authority outside Cairo.[164] This appointment did not, however, solve the problem of transforming legal into legitimate authority, and only provided a limited organization through which he could exercise the authority given to him by *firmān*.

The groups which had been made subject to his authority, however, and whose differences were more significant than the characteristics they had in common, were frequently involved in disputes with each other. At the doctrinal level the differences ranged from the pantheistic theories of some Shādhiliyya groups,[165] to the moderate teachings very much in line with the orthodoxy of some Khalwatiyya branches.[166] Rituals were highly diverse, internal organization of the various groups differed widely, and some of them, like al-Mawlawiyya[167] and al-Bektāshiyya[168] had their principal loyalties

[163] For such applications for registration see F. Or. A. 284, II/8 (3 Sha'bān 1231) and I/11 (15 Sha'bān 1236). Of the heads of the *ṭuruq* who recognized al-Bakrī's authority in 1847 (see the list on page 36f.) fourteen can be identified as *ashrāf*. For payments by al-Bakrī to the *naqīb* in Istanbul, cf. F. Or. A. 284, I/10 (Ṣaf. 1262).

[164] In the Ottoman era the provincial *nuqabā'* (who were referred to as *qā'immaqām al-niqāba*) were appointed for a period of one year, virtually as tax-farmers in these positions; see Shaw/Ḥuseyn, 103. This practice was continued during the first half of the 19th century; see e.g. F. Or. A. 284, I/9 (end of Ḥijja 1272). In the second half of the 19th century these offices tended to be held by their appointees for much longer periods and sometimes stayed within the same family. See e.g. F. Or. A. 283, II-14/3 (22 Ram. 1289), for the transfer of the office of *naqīb* in Rashīd within the same family. The office of *naqīb* of al-Gharbiyya province was held by members of the Qaṣabī family in Ṭanṭā. Its incumbent combined this office with the office of *imām* and *khaṭīb* of the Aḥmadī mosque. He also looked after the financial interests of the Bakrī family in this area, as is abundantly shown by the documents in the series F. Or. A. 283 and 285.

[165] E.g. al-'Īsawiyya. For the pantheistic conception of this *ṭarīqa*'s founder see the collection of *qaṣā'id* by him in Aḥmad al-Mahdī al-Ghazzālī, *Manāqib ... Muḥammad Ibn 'Īsā*, Tunis 1351.

[166] Notably those founded by students of Aḥmad al-Dardayr.

[167] Besides continued contacts with their centre in Konya, they maintained equally intensive contact with the Mawlawiyya *tekke* in Madina as appears from DWQ, Dīwān Khudaywī Turkī, *daftar* 631, p. 52, doc. 613 (20 Ram. 1232); *daftar* 732, p. 109, doc. 451 (4 Jum. I 1242); *daftar* 733, p. 23, doc. 116 (15 Shaw. 1242).

to the mother *takīya* in Turkey. Hence it is not surprising that within this highly diversified universe no common normative system developed to support al-Bakrī's authority which would allow for its exercise along well-defined lines.

Muḥammad al-Bakrī's investiture as *naqīb* of all institutions under his jurisdiction appears to have been most instrumental with regard to intendants of shrines. Those soliciting a formal appointment as intendant of a saint's shrine had to obtain recognition of the *nasab* linking them with this saint. This recognition had to be obtained from the *niqābat al-ashrāf* if the saint was of sharifian origin, which the majority were. Yet now recognition of a *nasab* in order to obtain formal appointment to a shrine, with its concomitant rights in *nudhūr*,[169] pensions and stipends, and the formal appointment itself, had become dependent upon one and the same person, whose power could not be denied.[170] It hardly contributed, however, to the recognition of his authority over the *zawāyā* and *takāyā*, which were almost exclusively inhabited by non-Egyptians with non-Egyptian *mashāyikh* over them.[171] These continued to maintain an independent position which was given legality by registration in court of a *firmān* obtained from Istanbul[172] or by direct appointment by the *qāḍī*.[173]

j. *Demarcation of authority: the agreement with al-Azhar*

It was not until about the middle of the 19th century that the authority of al-Bakrī became less amorphous[174] and more effective. In 1847 an agreement was concluded between Muḥammad al-Bakrī

[168] Appointment of the head of the *takīya* of al-Bektāshiyya was by the Porte upon nomination by the Dede Baba; see above note 113.

[169] *Nadhr* (pl. *nudhūr*, *nudhūrāt*) has the literal meaning of votive offering. On the various legal and theological issues involved, see for instance 'Abd al-Raḥmān Qurā'a, *Bahth fī 'l-Nudhūr wa Aḥkāmihā*, Cairo 1936. In addition, see my chapter II, note 281.

[170] Cf. F. Or. A. 384, IV-17 (7 Raj. 1254).

[171] Cf. *Khiṭ.*, i, 90.

[172] Cf. F. Or. A., 283, I-69/1 (25 Jum. II 1288).

[173] Cf. DMS, al-Bāb al-'Ālī, *sijill* 1, *mādda* 621, p. 162 (15 Ṣaf. 1242); *idem.*, *sijill* 6, *mādda* 561, p. 145 (9 Shaw. 1244); DWQ, Dīwān Ma'iyya Saniyya Turkī, *daftar* 50, *wathīqa* 287 (new class. S/1/129/1), p. 49. (5 Ram. 1248).

[174] Lane, 247, writes "Esh-Sheykh el Bekree ... holds authority over all orders of darweeshes in Egypt". He does not go into detail, which he certainly would have done if this authority had manifested itself within concrete established patterns. The ambivalent position of al-Bakrī is illustrated, moreover, by the fact that the distribution of alms from the khedive to the poor on the occasion of the *mawlid al-Ḥusayn* was not by al-Bakrī as one would expect, but by the head of al-Qādiriyya; cf. DWQ, Dīwān al-Khudaywī Turkī, 737, p. 13, *mus.* 66 (17 Rab. II 1243).

and the *shaykh al-Azhar*, Ibrāhīm al-Bayjūrī,[175] which further widened the gap between *'ilm* and *taṣawwuf* created by the *firmān* of 1812. In disputes of any nature involving members of a *ṭarīqa* or *ashrāf*, al-Bakrī would have exclusive right of jurisdiction, and also if one of the parties was connected with al-Azhar. When none of the parties involved belonged to any of these categories, only the *shaykh al-Azhar* or the *shaykh* of the *riwāq* or *madhhab* of the accused would be competent. Al-Bayjūrī also agreed to refrain from interference in the affairs of the *zawāyā*, the shrines and the *mashyakhat al-maqārī'*,[176] and from responding to requests for judgement and intervention in matters relative to the *ṭuruq*. This had happened, for instance, only shortly before this agreement was concluded, when the *shaykh al-Azhar* sided with one of the two factions within al-Bayyūmiyya,[177] each supporting a different candidate for succession to the office of *shaykh* of this *ṭarīqa*, following the death of its last incumbent Muḥammad Nāfi'. Finally, 'Abd al-Ghanī al-Malawānī (d. 1292: 1875), the favourite of the faction supported by the *shaykh al-Azhar*

[175] The text of the *maḥḍar* made up on this occasion, dated 19 Sha'bān 1263, is reproduced in *B.S.*, 42ff. A photocopy of the original document is preserved at Leiden University Library as F. Or. A. 284, III/22, 23, 24. See appendix II for a translation.

The author of *B.S.* erroneously presents this document as evidence to show that the *shaykh al-sajjāda al-Bakriyya* used to appoint the *shaykh al-Azhar*. From the *Description de l'Égypte*, ii/2, 394, we know that a new *shaykh al-Azhar* went to al-Bakrī to be provided with a robe of honour before his official investment by the *wālī*. Al-Bakrī certainly seems to have played a rôle in this, but it seems incorrect to state that he actually appointed the incumbent to this office.

It must be noted that the text of this document appears in the biography of 'Alī al-Bakrī, while it is clear from the date that the Bakrī *shaykh* mentioned in it is Muḥammad al-Bakrī.

[176] The Qur'ān readers were organized within a corporation headed by a supreme *shaykh*. This official would be appointed by al-Bakrī.

[177] Founded by 'Alī al-Bayyūmī (d. 1183: 1769). After the death of its founder, leadership within this group appears to have been unstable; in a relatively short time this *ṭarīqa* was headed by various *mashāyikh*. Its first *khalīfa* was Ibrāhīm al-Damanhūrī (d. 1192: 1778). In the official *silsila* of present-day *ijāzāt* of the *ṭarīqa*, Muḥammad Nāfi' is mentioned as his successor. However, from al-Jabartī, *'Ajā'ib*, ii, 189, we know that in 1205 (1790) Aḥmad Sālim al-Jazzār was head of the *ṭarīqa*, i.e. prior to Muḥammad Nāfi'. The former figures in the *silsila* of the latter in 'Risāla fī Bayān Salāsil al-Ṭuruq'. Between Muḥammad Nāfi' and 'Alī al-Bayyūmī, however, seven other names are mentioned in the *silsila* given in this manuscript. It is completely different from 'Abd al-Ghanī al-Malawānī's *silsila* given in al-Ḥarīrī 'Tibyān', i, 197[a]. In view of this, the enumeration of the heads of this *ṭarīqa* given by Zakī Muḥammad Mujāhid, *Manāqib al-Bayyūmī*, Cairo n.d., 6, must be held incomplete. Compilation of a reliable list of heads does not seem feasible at present.

obtained recognition. A dispute, however, about the *shaykh*'s intervention arose with al-Bakrī, who supported the rival candidate.[178] It seems likely that this dispute was the principal incentive towards the agreement, though if not, at least the agreement aimed at the prevention of such disputes in future.

k. *The early phase of the ṭuruq administration*

The demarcation of the spheres of competence and jurisdiction obviously made al-Bakrī's authority more distinct than had previously been the case. It equally contributed to the increased administrative importance this authority must have gained by then, as is suggested by the fact that al-Bakrī appears to have been in need of a manual allowing him to verify *salāsil*. Such a manual, enumerating the *salāsil* of a number of contemporary heads of *ṭuruq*, was compiled in, or shortly before, 1265 (1848/9).[179] This would mean that al-Bakrī had come to play a rôle in solving disputes in which *salāsil* produced by the parties involved might affect judgements, such as disputes concerning *ṭarīqa* allegiance, the rights to proselytize in certain areas, and the rights to organise *mawālid*; most probably, he would also take the initiative in intervention.

It seems unlikely, however, especially outside Cairo, that judgement and intervention would have been possible only through the agents of the *niqāba*. This would mean that government agencies must also have become active in support of his authority. Indeed, the extent of the involvement of government agencies in the *ṭuruq* administration in the 1870's (see following chapter), suggests that the process by which this came about started much earlier. This must have been in the course of the 1840's when Muḥammad 'Alī's administration changed from an initially monolithic one with rather diffuse task-performances, into an administration consisting of more specialized agencies operating within clearly defined areas of jurisdiction. In the course of this process of growing involvement of government agencies and the *ṭuruq* administration, al-Bakrī must have acquired a position which made all the dealings of the heads of the *ṭuruq* with these agencies,

[178] See Le Chatelier, *Confréries*, 187f.

[179] A microfilmed copy of this manual ('Risāla fī Bayān Salāsil al-Ṭuruq') is preserved at Leiden University Library (F. Or. A. 302). For the dating of this manual and for further detail, see F. de Jong, 'Two Anonymous Manuscripts Relative to the Ṣūfī Orders in Egypt', *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, xxxii/3-4 (May-June 1975), 186-190.

including payments of customary stipends from the *Rūznāma* Department or payments out of proceeds from *awqāf khayriyya*, dependent upon his mediation (cf. p. 43). This position must have allowed al-Bakrī to force the heads of the *ṭuruq* who had such rights into acknowledgement of his authority over them. Since the heads of the *ṭuruq* whose *salāsil* are listed in the manual were all in charge of a *ṭarīqa* where incumbency to the supreme authority position entailed rights to stipends, pensions and control of assets (*niẓārāt* of *awqāf*), they must have been heads of *ṭuruq* who had recognized the authority of al-Bakrī over them in consequence of the dependency relationship into which they had inevitably come to find themselves.[180] This relationship, however, does not seem to have been of any consequence for the authority of the heads of these *ṭuruq* in the internal affairs of their *ṭarīqa*.[181] Their names and *ṭuruq* are given in the following list:

Ḥusayn b. Muṣṭafā al-Rifāʿī	– al-Rifāʿiyya
Muḥammad al-Fāriḍī together with Aḥmad Qāsim	– al-Qādiriyya
Muḥammad Muṣṭafā Shams al-Dīn	– al-Marzūqiyya al-Aḥmadiyya
ʿAlī al-Minūfī	– al-Manāyifa al-Aḥmadiyya
Aḥmad Yūsuf al-Kannāsī	– al-Kannāsiyya al-Aḥmadiyya
Muṣṭafā al-Naqqāsh	– al-Salāmiyya al-Aḥmadiyya
Ḥasan Salmān al-Imbābī	– al-Imbābiyya al-Aḥmadiyya
Muḥammad Maḥjūb Khaḍir	– al-Ḥumūdiyya al-Aḥmadiyya
Muḥammad ʿAṭāʾ Allāh	– al-Tasqiyāniyya al-Aḥmadiyya
Muṣṭafā al-Junaydī	– al-Ḥalabiyya al-Aḥmadiyya
Muḥammad al-Shuʿaybī	– al-Shuʿaybiyya al-Aḥmadiyya
Ḥusayn al-Shinnāwī	– al-Shinnāwiyya al-Aḥmadiyya
Muḥammad Nāfiʿ	– al-Bayyūmiyya al-Aḥmadiyya
Muḥammad Muḥammad ʿĀshūr	– al-Burhāmiyya
Muḥammad al-Jawharī	– al-Shādhiliyya
ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ṭūbī	– al-ʿĪsawiyya al-Shādhiliyya
Riḍwān al-ʿAfīfī	– al-ʿAfīfiyya al-Shādhilyya

[180] In the case of one *ṭarīqa* mentioned in the manual, al-ʿĪsawiyya, there is no evidence that its superior controlled or was entitled to revenues from *awqāf*, or that he had rights to stipends or pensions. The heads of the ten Aḥmadiyya orders (with the exception of al-Bayyūmiyya), if they did not control *awqāf*, had at least rights to pensions; cf. *Description*, i, 370ff.

[181] Cf. Lane, xxvi ff. He reports that a *shaykh* could even imprison his disciples if they acted contrary to the rules of the *ṭarīqa*.

ʿAbd al-Raḥman al-Shaʿrānī	– al-Shaʿrāniyya
Muṣṭafā al-Demirdāsh	– al-Demirdāshiyya
Muḥammad al-Khuḍarī	– al-Saʿdiyya

Most of these *mashāyikh* had succeeded their fathers or other relatives in authority. Indeed, inheritance through the paternal line seems to have been the major principle of succession. Of only a few of the *mashāyikh* mentioned above do we have some information about the way in which their families came to monopolize the supreme authority position within a *ṭarīqa*.

In the case of al-Rifāʿiyya, supreme leadership had passed to the descendants of Muṣṭafā al-Rifāʿī, a Syrian horse-merchant who had come to Cairo before the French occupation. His grandson, Muḥammad Efendī Yāsīn had been given authority over al-Rifāʿiyya together with ʿAbd Allāh al-Mazārīqī,[182] whose family had controlled the shrine and *zāwiya* of ʿAlī al-Rifāʿī near the Citadel. Muḥammad Efendī Yāsīn, who was also *shahbandar al-tujjār*, had been placed in this position of authority by Muḥammad ʿAlī with the obligation of collecting the *firda*[183] from acrobats, jugglers and snake-charmers — many of whom were members of al-Rifāʿiyya — which could not be collected otherwise since they were not organized in guilds.[184] After Muḥammad Yāsīn's death, which was preceded by that of al-Mazārīqī, the office passed to his uncle, Ḥusayn b. Muṣṭafā,[185] and has remained in this family ever since.[186]

The way in which members of the ʿĀshūr family could justify supreme authority over al-Burhāmiyya has been mentioned above (see p. 17), and within al-Qādiriyya the *mashyakha* had passed from the Jīzī

[182] Cf. 'Risāla fī Bayān ...', 3.

[183] A capitation tax, also known as *furdat al-ruʾūs* or *furda*, introduced by Muḥammad ʿAlī in 1822; cf. Rivlin, 133. It was abolished in 1872; cf. G. Baer, *Egyptian Guilds in Modern Times*, Jerusalem 1964, 86.

[184] In Ottoman Egypt, taxes from these groups were collected by the so-called *emīn-i khorde* or *khorde emīni*, cf. Shaw, *Administrative Organization*, 121; Shaw/Cezzâr, 46f.

[185] He is the first Rifāʿiyya *shaykh* who is mentioned explicitly as *shaykh mashāyikh al-Rifāʿiyya* in Egypt by al-Ṣayyādī, *Tanwīr*, 117.

[186] Information about this early phase of centralized leadership within al-Rifāʿiyya was obtained from Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Bāqī al-Ḥabībī, *shaykh al-sajjāda al-Ḥabībiyya* in 1973. When the legality of this *ṭarīqa*'s independence from al-Rifāʿiyya was questioned in court in 1914, the then *shaykh* of al-Ḥabībiyya, Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Hādī, the father of the above, questioned the legality of the supreme authority of the Yāsīns because of its origin. On this dispute, see also *Mudhakkira Marfūʿa ilā Maqām Ṣāḥib al-Dawla Wazīr al-Dākhiliyya min Shaykh Ṭarīqat ʿUmūm al-Rifāʿiyya bi'l-Diyār al-Miṣriyya bi-Shaʾn al-Ṭāʾifa al-Ḥabībiyya*, Cairo 1925.

family, together with the office of *kātib niqābat al-ashrāf*, to the descendants of the member of a family which had held the *niqābat al-ashrāf* in Baghdād and had migrated to Egypt (see above p. 17). The first of this family to hold both offices was Aḥmad b. Qāsim al-Qādirī[187] who was succeeded by his brother Sulaymān. After Sulaymān's death, the *ṭarīqa* leadership was held by his two sons Aḥmad Qāsim and Muḥammad, who was known as al-Fāriḍī and held the *kitāba*.[188]

The *ṭarīqa al-Shinnāwiyya* was headed by relatives of the *mashāyikh al-Shinnāwiyya* who controlled the shrine of Aḥmad al-Badawī (see above p. 17) in Ṭanṭā. It had its centre at the shrine of its founder in Maḥallat Rūḥ, north of Ṭanṭā, and became prominent in the second half of the 18th century, particularly under the leadership of ʿAlī Muḥammad al-Shinnāwī known as "Bunduq".[189] Favouritism of Ḥasan Bāshā — the commander of the Ottoman expedition sent to Egypt in 1786 in order to restore its Mamlūk rulers to obedience — who granted large pensions to the heads of this *ṭarīqa* as well as to the *khulafā' al-maqām*, enhanced and consolidated their position.[190]

As supreme head of the Shādhiliyya *ṭuruq* in Egypt, Muḥammad Abū 'l-Maʿālī al-Jawharī had emerged. His father, Muḥammad Abū 'l-Hādī, had been initiated into al-Shādhiliyya by Muḥammad al-ʿArabī and into al-Tihāmiyya by his grandfather Aḥmad.[191] Both Aḥmad and his son Muḥammad had played notable rôles in Ottoman Egypt[192] and had apparently built up a position for themselves which had resulted in official recognition of their authority over most Shādhiliyya *ṭuruq* in Egypt.[193]

[187] Cf. 'Risāla fī Bayān ...', 7.
[188] 'Ibid'.
[189] See *'Ajā'ib*, i, 376.
[190] Cf. *Description*, i, 379, 381, 395.
[191] Cf. F. Or. A. 286, 24-27 for a document showing the sharifian descent of this family. See 'Risāla fī Bayān ...', 30f. for the *silsila*.
[192] Cf. *'Ajā'ib*, i, 309ff.; ii, 53; iii, 164f.; and *Khiṭ.*, iv, 77ff. The prominence of this family is also clear from the fact that it was the only one, apart from the Bakrī and the Sādāt families, whose members obtained payments from the *ṣurra*; cf. *Description*, i, 383. On these payments from the *ṣurra* see Shaw/Ḥuseyn, 114 (note 148) and Shaw, *Administrative Organization*, 254. For lands obtained as *iltizām* by Muḥammad Abū 'l-Maʿālī, cf. Nahum, *firmān* 37 (3 Shaʿbān 1216). For *awqāf* established in favour of the Jawharī family, see WA, no. 2968 (Jum. II 1187).
[193] This is suggested by the honorific *shaykh al-sajjāda aslāf al-sāda al-Shādhiliyya bi'l-diyār al-Miṣriyya* used in F. Or. A. 286, 15/2 (dated 1253). For Muḥammad Abū 'l-Maʿālī's involvement in the administration of the *awqāf* of Ibrāhīm al-Disūqī, see *ibid.*, 8 (18 Rab. I 1212).

The leaders of *ṭuruq* of an associational type, which had no rights to pensions and stipends and were not entitled to the control of assets as a result of their *ṭarīqa* leadership, were obviously not in need of al-Bakrī's mediation. Therefore, they had no reason to recognize his authority over them, and they abstained from involvement with the emerging *ṭuruq* administration. Among them figured representatives of al-Mīrghaniyya, al-Ṣāwiyya and of some Shādhiliyya and Khalwatiyya groups (see below, chapter II). The majority of these *ṭuruq* had become active in Egypt comparatively recently and were concentrated in Cairo and Alexandria. As a consequence the leaders of these groups were in a better position to control conflicts involving their *ṭuruq*, which might otherwise have resulted in al-Bakrī's intervention and a forced compliance with submission to his suzerainty over them.

Equally, the *arbāb al-sajājīd*, i.e. the heads of al-Wafā'iyya, al-'Ināniyya and al-Khuḍayriyya maintained their traditional autonomy, in which neither the *firmān* nor the agreement with al-Azhar had brought any change. Their *ṭuruq* remained among the *ṭuruq* which had no formal link with the *shaykh al-sajjāda al-Bakriyya*. The existence of this group and their counterparts who did have this formal link, implied a bisection of the *ṭuruq* realm in Egypt, which would remain its basic structural characteristic.

1. *Summary*

Muḥammad ʿAlī's proclamation in 1812 of a *firmān* giving the *shaykh al-sajjāda al-Bakriyya* authority over the *ṭuruq* and *ṭuruq*-linked institutions, implied the beginning of a new era for these groups which had not previously been subject to a central authority. In practice, however, the consequences of this new arrangement did not manifest themselves clearly until the forties, when government agencies became active in support of al-Bakrī's administration of the *ṭuruq* realm and the *shaykh al-Azhar* had been excluded from interference in *ṭuruq* affairs. This made al-Bakrī's authority more distinct than had previously been the case and contributed to its increased administrative importance. However, the full actualization of the authority given to al-Bakrī by the *firmān* was yet to come.

CHAPTER TWO

THE *ṬURUQ* REALM, THE PRINCIPLE OF RIGHT OF *QADAM*, THE NATURE AND FUNCTIONING OF THE *ṬURUQ* ADMINISTRATION

When Muḥammad al-Bakrī died in Rajab 1271 (April 1855), he was succeeded by his son ʿAlī. Upon his investiture in the offices of *shaykh al-sajjāda al-Bakriyya* and *naqīb al-ashrāf* by the khedive Saʿīd, ʿAlī was explicitly given the same authority over the *ṭuruq* and *ṭuruq*-linked institutions which his father had held.[1]

Before his appointment, which occurred when he was over fifty, ʿAlī al-Bakrī had been studying at al-Azhar under a number of notable scholars.[2] This had resulted in a reputation for learning[3] which qualified him more than his predecessor for this authority position which had, by now, obtained legitimation by tradition. Moreover, within the realm of the *ṭuruq* administration he must have benefited from his father's experience. These factors in combination would contribute to the almost total actualization of the authority he legally held over the *ṭuruq* and the *ṭuruq*-linked institutions.[4]

a. *The genesis of the principle of right of qadam*

The administrative practice through which ʿAlī al-Bakrī actualized his authority was inseparably linked with what was known as right of *qadam*.[5] This meant the exclusive right of a *ṭarīqa* to proselytize

[1] For the *firmān* of his investiture, see *B.S.*, 378.

[2] These were, amongst others, Muḥammad al-Damanhūrī, Ibrāhīm al-Bayjūrī and Ibrāhīm al-Saqqā; cf. *B.S.*, 41f.

[3] Cf. Malortie, Baron de, *Egypt. Native Rulers and Foreign Interference*, London 1882, 315-16.

[4] The following account is largely based upon data derived from transcribed documents in the series Leiden, F. Or. A. 283. These documents do not go back beyond Muḥarram 1287 (April 1870). It may be inferred from their contents, however, that the administrative practice they mirror existed for at least two decades. The documents referred to in the following notes generally constitute merely a selection from the documents in this series, illustrating the various aspects of the administration described.

[5] In other words, a *ṭarīqa* could claim right of *qadam* (i.e. priority; cf. Abū'l-Fayḍ Muḥammad Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī, *Tāj al-ʿArūs min Sharḥ Jawāhir al-Qamūs*, Cairo 1306-7, ix, 18) in an area, if it could be proved that it had *qidam* (seniority). From discussions with members of the *ṭuruq* in Egypt about aspects of the *ṭuruq* administration

and to appear in public in an area, if it could be proved that it had been the first to do so.

Before the 19th century no such principle, carrying with it the administrative implications and importance set out below, seems to have been in operation. However, it seems likely that in the late 17th and especially in the 18th century, when *khulafā'* were appointed as *multazimūn*,[6] they would propagate and favour the *ṭarīqa* to which they belonged within their *iltizām*. Moreover, as *multazimūn* they could forbid access to the area to proselytizing agents belonging to other *ṭuruq* and restrict the activities of those already present.

In the course of Muḥammad ʿAlī's land reforms between 1812 and 1815 the *iltizām* system was abolished. This not only affected these *khulafā'* / *multazimūn* financially and socially, as it did all *multazimūn*, but also their position as local *ṭarīqa* leaders, once the office, which allowed for the protection and advancement of the interests of their *ṭarīqa*, had been abolished. Opposition to intruders belonging to other *ṭuruq* could, from then on, be justified only by stressing that traditionally their *ṭuruq* had been the only ones which had the right to be active in the area.

That there should have been a connection between the abolition of the *iltizām* system and the rise of the principle of *qadam* as the pivotal principle of organization for the *ṭuruq* realm, is suggested, moreover, by the circumstance that this principle never functioned in Upper Egypt. Here, the majority of the *multazimūm* who held office at the time of the abolition of this system had not been granted their *iltizām* until 1800. In that year the Mamlūk *amīr* Murād Bek, was recognized by the French as governor of Upper Egypt and had subsequently granted *iltizāmāt* to his most important adherents, while ignoring the rights of the former landholders.[7] Moreover, it is unlikely that those who may have remained in office had any long-standing

in the 19th and the first decades of the 20th century, it appeared that the term *qadam* may have had the additional meaning or connotation of "a prominent position due to merit" (*al-sharaf al-qadīm*; cf. al-Zabīdī, ix, 21).

[6] Shaw/Ḥuseyn, 104. Shaw speaks about "dervishes" being appointed as *multazimūn*. It is unlikely, however, that ordinary *ṭarīqa* members who had not been granted *al-khilāfa* (see below page 45) and thus held at least a minor position of prominence in their *ṭarīqa*, would have been appointed to these offices. For this reason, the term *khalīfa* (*khulafā'*) has been adopted in the following discussion instead. About *multazim* and *iltizām*, see Shaw, *Administrative Organization*, *passim*. For a concise summary of landholding in Egypt before the French occupation, see Rivlin, chapter 2.

[7] See Rivlin, 25.

landed interests, since the state of political anarchy which had been prevalent in Upper Egypt for at least three decades[8] must have had its effect upon the stability of landholding. This would prevent the inheritance of the office of *multazim* becoming as much institutionalized as in the Delta.[9] Therefore, few of the *multazimūn* south of Cairo with any *ṭarīqa* allegiance could have been in office for a period long enough to consolidate the position of their *ṭarīqa*, as had their equals in the Delta. In consequence, the representatives of such *ṭuruq* were not in a position to make successful claims for rights of *qadam* at a later stage and al-Bakrī's administration was to remain of little significance for the *ṭuruq* in these areas until the 1870's (see below p. 93).

b. *Al-Bakrī's authority over the ṭuruq and the principle of right of qadam*

After 1263 (1847), when the agreement with al-Azhar was concluded, al-Bakrī, i.e. the *shaykh al-sajjāda al-Bakriyya*, appears to have become the only official who could appoint the heads of the *ṭuruq* and *ṭuruq*-linked institutions, giving these incumbents legality of tenure in consequence. When the head of a *ṭarīqa* died, his eldest son was generally appointed as his successor, in accordance with the principle of heredity of tenure of these authority positions. This principle had become generally adhered to and set limitations on those qualifying for appointment. Nevertheless, in these cases, as well as in cases of the deceased having no male descendants, al-Bakrī, before making any appointment, would require evidence justifying the expectation that the office would not become inoperative through the limited legitimacy of its potential incumbent. Acceptable evidence was a petition to al-Bakrī, drawn up at a meeting of *ṭarīqa* officials and members and signed by them, asking for the appointment of a particular candidate as head of the *ṭarīqa* to which they belonged.[10]

If other factions within the *ṭarīqa* protested to al-Bakrī against the proposed candidate before the formal appointment, this might result

[8] This period started in 1769, when 'Alī Bek al-Kabīr broke the power of the Hawwāra tribe whose *shaykh*, the *amīr* Hummām b. Yūsuf exercised absolute control over the region between Asyūṭ and Aswān. Within the *pāshālik* of Egypt the territory controlled by the *amīr* functioned very similarly to an *iltizām*; cf. Rivlin, 25; and Shaw/Ḥuseyn, 141.

[9] Cf. Rivlin, 22.

[10] Cf. F. Or. A. 283, I-85/2 (8 Qa'da 1288); V-35(15)/1 (9 Jum. II 1297); IV-3/3 (n.d.; 1288).

in hearings of all involved in order to establish which of the candidates could hold office with the greatest degree of legitimacy. If protests reached him only after the formal appointment had been made, hearings might still be held and result in deposition of the newly appointed head and the investiture of somebody else in his place.[11]

The heads of the *ṭuruq* were highly dependent upon al-Bakrī in their dealings with the government agencies. Those heads who received customary stipends from the *Rūznāma* Department,[12] or who were entitled to payments out of the proceeds from *awqāf khayrīyya*, could not receive these payments except by his mediation.[13] He represented them in dealings with the government agencies and in the case of death of a benefactor, payments to a successor would not be resumed unless death and legal succession were confirmed by al-Bakrī.[14] When the rights of the heads of *ṭuruq* legally entitled to such payments were infringed upon, he would intervene on behalf of the victimized with the government agencies.[15]

The emergence of the principle of *qadam* had left three options to the heads of the *ṭuruq* who did not control assets or receive stipends or payments out of the revenues of *awqāf* or from *al-Rūznāma*. Firstly, they could accept al-Bakrī's authority over them, with all that this

[11] I-19/3 (1 Rab. II 1287); V-23 (3)/1 (14 Ṣaf. 1297).

[12] For a discussion of the history of this Department and its functioning see Deny, *Sommaire*, 131 ff. It was through this Department that after 1815 when Muḥammad 'Alī had completed his agricultural reforms by which, amongst others, all *awqāf* lands were confiscated and the *iltizām* system was abolished, periodical amounts were paid in compensation to the former owners, concessionaries and other beneficiaries; cf. Deny, *Sommaire*, 138; Rivlin, 58. Some of the *zawāyā* and *takāyā* in Cairo benefiting from such periodical payments are listed by 'Alī Mubārak in his *Khiṭaṭ*. See in particular the relevant sections in volume VI. I have not been able to collect materials shedding light upon the degree to which Muḥammad 'Alī's measures affected the financial basis of the *ṭuruq*.

[13] I-24/3 (25 Rab. II 1287); III-16/1(8 Jum. I 1290); V-9 (16)/5 (10 Raj. 1296); V-38 (18)/5 (14 Raj. 1297).

[14] I-63/2 (17 Rab. II 1288); III-16/1 (8 Jum. I 1290).

[15] V-34 (14)/2 (9 Jum. II 1297). Sometimes al-Bakrī mediated on behalf of the heads of the *ṭuruq* under his jurisdiction within spheres of interest not related to their *ṭarīqa* leadership or to *taṣawwuf* in any way; see e.g. I-2/6 (26 Muḥ. 1287), referring to al-Bakrī's mediation concerning landed interests of the head of al-Rifā'iyya; I-67/7 (5 Jum. II 1288), a request to the provincial governor of Jirjā to collect a debt on behalf of the head of al-Minūfiyya (al-Manāyifa); I-68/3 (7 Jum. II 1288) for al-Bakrī's mediation in a conflict about the irrigation of land belonging to the head of al-Sa'diyya; III-2/1 (6 Muḥ. 1290); III-2/2 (12 Muḥ. 1290) and I-45/3 (11 Qa'da 1287) about al-Bakrī's mediation in a conflict about the legacy of the deceased heads of al-Ṣāwiyya and al-Qādiriyya.

implied. Secondly, they could place themselves under the jurisdiction of the heads of one of the *ṭuruq* who had accepted al-Bakrī's authority from the beginning. This was a realistic choice for the heads of *ṭuruq* of local significance wishing to evade the limitations set to the expansion of membership by the rise of the principle of *qadam*.[16] Thirdly, they could defy him and remain independent. This alternative, however, was realistic only for the heads of the *ṭuruq* which did not manifest themselves as a group in public, but limited their communal activities to mosques or private houses to which the principle of *qadam* did not apply.[17] Because of their relative sobriety, they must have attracted a distinctive membership which allowed them to take the third option without risk of losing members to *ṭuruq* whose main *raison d'être* was appearance in public and participation in celebrations.[18] However, in 1289 (1872), in order to force these groups also to accept al-Bakrī as their supreme head, and to comply with the established practices of the *ṭarīqa* administration, *ḥaḍarāt* in houses became prohibited.[19]

Since participation in *mawālid*, processions on the occasion of Islamic festivals, and holding *ḥaḍarāt* in public places, was only possible under a *khalīfa* — confirmed in office by al-Bakrī — of a *ṭarīqa* with right of *qadam*, potential members must have taken into account whether it had *qadam* or not. Obviously, if it did not have this right, the attractiveness of joining such a *ṭarīqa* was small indeed.

This was even less so in the case of those aspiring to local leadership of a *ṭarīqa*. The most likely course such an aspirant would follow was to try to obtain appointment as *khalīfa* of a *ṭarīqa* whose head recognized al-Bakrī's authority and which had right of *qadam* in the area where the aspirant lived, since this would entitle him to all that right of *qadam* implied, thus providing the indispensable pre-conditions for a successful realization of his aspirations.

Appointments of *khulafā'* were made by the *ṭarīqa*'s head. Requests to make a formal appointment were addressed by the *ṭarīqa*'s members

[16] This was, for instance, the case with two Burhāmiyya orders, al-Sharnūbiyya and al-Shahāwiyya. The heads of these orders do not seem to have had any formal link with the main *ṭarīqa*, headed by the 'Āshūr family, until the rise of the principle of *qadam*. Their history will be discussed below.

[17] Among these were Naqshbandiyya and Khalwatiyya groups.

[18] These are referred to by al-Jabartī as "*ṭarā'iq ṣūriyya*"; cf. *'Ajā'ib*, iv, 165. For further details about these celebrations, see below page 54 ff.

[19] II-19/2 (11 Raj. 1289).

to the head of the order[20] or to al-Bakrī, who forwarded the address to the head.[21] Once an appointment had been made, it was confirmed and certified by al-Bakrī,[22] who would only do so if he had evidence that the legality of the authority granted would not remain ineffective because of a lack of legitimacy.[23] Should anybody be appointed contrary to the wish of those over whom he held authority and the decision was accepted by the head of the *ṭarīqa*, members could protest to al-Bakrī. He, in his turn, would order his *wakīl* to make a public inquiry and endeavour to bring about a settlement.[24]

If the head of a *ṭarīqa* intended to appoint a *khalīfa* in an area where there had been no such official previously, or if he wanted to appoint an additional official in an area where his *ṭarīqa* had *khulafā'* already, he had to obtain al-Bakrī's permission beforehand.[25] In the first case, possible rights of *qadam* of other *ṭuruq* in the area were checked. In the second case it was the administrative desirability of appointing an additional *khalīfa* that was scrutinized. Appointment would not be confirmed by al-Bakrī unless it appeared that a substantial expansion of membership had taken place, justifying the expectation that the new authority position would be viable without endangering the position of the other *khulafā'* in the area by drawing members away from them.

These *khulafā'*, before their confirmation as *khulafā'* within al-Bakrī's administration, were already *khulafā'* in a different way. Namely, as had been customary among the *ṭuruq* for centuries, by virtue of carrying an *ijāza*, issued to them by their own spiritual guide, which contained the latter's permission to initiate and guide novices.[26] Those who were *khulafā'* only in the latter sense, fell entirely under the jurisdiction of those who were first and foremost *khulafā'* within al-Bakrī's administration.

Possession of an *ijāza* served as proof of being a religious dignitary. This, at times, entitled its owner to distinct privileges, like exemption

[20] IV-1/2-2/1 (n.d.; 1288); IV-7/5 (28 Rab. II 1290).

[21] III-14/2 (16 Rab. II 1290); IV-2/2 (n.d.; 1288).

[22] *Ibid.* and e.g. I-19/3 (beginning of Rab. II 1287).

[23] I-20/8 (13 Rab. II 1287); I-66/4 (14 Jum. I 1288).

[24] I-47/3 (15 Ḥijja 1287).

[25] I-76/7 (3 Shaw. 1288).

[26] For a description of an *ijāza*, see Kahle, 'Zur Organisation', 156f. For a German translation of an Aḥmadiyya *ijāza* and a discussion of its contents, see E. Kümmerer, 'Die Ahmadiya. Beiträge zur Kenntnis eines ägyptischen Derwischordens', Diss. Tübingen (Phil. Fac.) 1953 (unpublished), *passim*.

from military service, from corvée and from the travel restrictions[27] imposed upon the rural population[28], and also to tax privileges[29] and preferential treatment while enlisted in the army.[30] Because of this it is not surprising that a trade in *ijāzāt* developed[31] or even that *ijāzāt* were issued in which more privileges were promised and rights claimed for its bearer than would be granted by the government,[32] seemingly to increase their commercial value. At times al-Bakrī, and also the heads of the *ṭuruq*, took action against this phenomenon by restricting the category of those to whom *ijāzāt* might be issued and by giving rules respecting their content.[33]

It must have been about this time that, in order to allow an inspection of the contents of *ijāzāt* for compliance with these rules by the heads of the *ṭuruq*, ratification by the latter, in addition to ratification by the *khulafā'* who issued these documents, by means of providing them with their signature or seal, became a requirement if an *ijāza* was to have any validity.[34]

[27] These privileges were abolished around 1290. See III-14/4 (24 Rab. I 1290); III-19/3 (7 Raj. 1290); IV-20 (11)/4 (11 Jum. II 1290); IV-21 (12)/1 (2 Rab. II 1290).

[28] The *ijāza* in their possession served here as their *laissez-passer;* cf. IV-20 (11)/4 (11 Jum. II 1290).

[29] Tax privileges were enjoyed by al-Bakrī (cf. I-9/3 (24 Ṣaf. 1287)) as well as by all other recognized religious leaders; cf. F. Or. A. 284, III-7 (11 Raj. 1301). In addition, al-Bakrī himself was notably exempted from house-tax (*'awā'id al-amlāk*), from taxes on land sold, as well as from taxes on its products; cf. F. Or. A. 283, I-7/2 (18 Ṣaf. 1287), I-9/1, 2, 3 (24 Ṣaf. 1287).

[30] Muḥammad Maḥmūd al-Surūjī, *Al-Jaysh al-Miṣrī fī 'l-Qarn al-Tāsi' 'Ashar*, Cairo 1967, does not mention anything about a temporary exemption of *khulafā'* from conscription. Indeed this may not have been a practice sanctioned by an official government decree. Nevertheless this practice must have existed in 1290 (1873/4), otherwise it would be difficult to understand why the *Majlis al-Khuṣūṣī* instructed al-Bakrī to take action in order to prevent the issue of *ijāzāt* to enlisted soldiers; cf. IV-20(11)/4 (11 Jum. II 1290). A likely explanation for the government's initiative in this respect would seem to be its desire to eliminate any possibility that conscripts could use *ijāzāt* issued to them as evidence in order to obtain recognition as religious dignitaries, which would allow them to obtain discharge from the army.

[31] At a meeting of a number of heads of the *ṭuruq* and *wukalā'* convened by al-Bakrī on 27 Jumādā II 1289 (2 Sept. 1872), a number of decisions were taken aiming at the reduction of this phenomenon. The issue of blank *ijāzāt* and the issue of *ijāzāt* to unknown persons (by mediation of somebody else or by mail) was prohibited. Whenever the *wukalā'* of al-Bakrī came across a suspect *ijāza* they had to send it to him; cf. III-19/2, 3 (8 Raj. 1290).

[32] IV-20(11)/4 (11 Jum. II 1290).

[33] Cf. II-19/2 (11 Raj. 1289) and III-19/2, 3 (8 Raj. 1290).

[34] Cf. P. Kahle, 'Zur Organisation', 157, and also chapter IV, pp. 158 ff. and notes. Before this era established practice seems to have been that an *ijāza* issued to a newly appointed *khalīfa* was ratified by a number of *khulafā'*, belonging to the principal *ṭuruq* active in the area where the *khalīfa* was to become active. Therewith he was recognized by the established *khulafā'* as their equal, while it also gave a dimension of legality to his leadership; cf. MS Leiden Or. 12.584, being an *ijāza* of an Aḥmadiyya branch issued by a certain Ibrāhīm 'Uwaysī to Ḥasan Khalīfa b. Khalīfa in 'Arab al-Raml (al-Gharbiyya) dated 25 Dhū 'l-Ḥijja 1259. Elsewhere in the Ottoman Empire, practice seems to have been similar at times, as is suggested by the *ijāzāt* MSS Leiden Or. 12.496; and 12.497 (Ar. 3974).

In every province where a *ṭarīqa* had *khulafā'*, the head of the *ṭarīqa* could appoint a *nā'ib*. Here a procedure identical to that by which a *khalīfa* was appointed was followed.[35] The *nā'ib* could not claim legality unless al-Bakrī had confirmed the appointment made by the head of the *ṭarīqa*.[36] This office was frequently held by somebody who also held the office of *khalīfa*. The primary task of this official was to see to the proper performance by the *khulafā'* of the duties attached to their office and to report on this, if necessary, to the head of the *ṭarīqa*. He served as the primary link of communication between the *khulafā'* in the province in which he was *nā'ib* and the head of the *ṭarīqa*, and generally had to do everything to protect the interests of the *khulafā'*. Should he not do this, complaints could be presented by those affected by his neglect, either to the head of the *ṭarīqa* or to al-Bakrī. Deposition and the appointment of another person to the office might follow, possibly preceded by an inquiry into the matter, conducted locally by al-Bakrī's *wakīl*.[37]

These *wukalā'*, generally speaking, had to protect the interests of the *ṭuruq* and see to the proper administration of the shrines (see below p. 60). When a *wakīl* showed himself incapable of this, protests would result from those involved and this could lead to deposition and the appointment of somebody else in his place.[38] In addition, a number of the *wukalā'* acted as al-Bakrī's personal representatives in the widest sense, administering lands he owned[39] and taking care of his financial interests in general.[40] The fact that these *wukalā'* used to hold other offices of social importance and high status concomitantly, such as

[35] For requests by members of a *ṭarīqa* for the appointment of a *nā'ib* see I-19/3 (1 Rab. II 1287); I-44/2 (26 Shaw. 1287); I-44/6 (1 Ṣaf. 1287); I-66/4 (14 Jum. I 1288); IV-7/5 (28 Rab. I 1291).

[36] I-44/6 (1 Ṣaf. 1287); I-76/7 (3 Shaw. 1288).

[37] I-72/4 (19 Raj. 1288); II-18/5 (6 Raj. 1289).

[38] V-10 (17)/3 (18 Raj. 1296); V-15 (22)/1 (29 Raj. 1296).

[39] Amongst others he owned 180 *faddān* in al-Sharqiyya (Dahmishā), 100 *faddān* in al-'Āmira and Damallīj (al-Minūfiyya), 527 *faddān* in Ibshawiyya (al-Sharqiyya); 120 *faddān* in Ashmūn (al-Minūfiyya), and 10 *faddān* in al-Buḥayra. All these lands were turned by him into *waqf*; cf. *Khiṭ.*, iii, 124.

[40] I-17/3 (19 Rab. I 1287); I-18/6 (19 Rab. I 1287); II-15/6 (10 Jum. I 1289).

the offices of *qāḍī*, *sartujjār* and *qā'immaqām niqābat al-ashrāf*, must have contributed to the effectiveness of the authority they held as representatives of al-Bakrī.[41]

Wukalā' were appointed by al-Bakrī, who made such appointments without much consultation with the *ṭuruq* officials in the area concerned.[42] For this, indeed, there was little reason because it was primarily loyalty to al-Bakrī which was demanded. Moreover, as his agents, their authority was merely an extension of his own and, therefore, the degree of legitimacy of their authority was a function of the degree of legitimacy of his own authority.

With respect to all the other authority positions within the *ṭuruq* administration, and to the positions of *khulafā'* in particular, care was taken to assure legitimacy of tenure, as already referred to above. This was, indeed, fundamental to the maintenance of the system, since when a person could legitimately hold the office of *khalīfa*, it not only meant that he had been recognized as such by those over whom he held authority, it also meant that the legitimacy of the system to which this official owed his office — and of which it was part — was confirmed by those to whom this system owed its existence. Implicitly, this was a confirmation of the legitimacy of the principle of *qadam*, without which the administrative system would not have taken the shape it assumed, and which would not have become a principle significant for the relationships between the various *ṭuruq* and, to a large extent, regulating their activities, without an administration under centralized authority.

However, the prestige attached to the office of *khalīfa* was not exclusively dependent upon the fact that it was an integral part of the

[41] In II-19/2 (11 Raj. 1289) the following *wukalā'* are mentioned together with the offices additionally held by them: 'Abd al-Fattāḥ al-Khādim, *qā'immaqām al-niqāba* in the Tughar of Rashīd; Muḥammad al-Imām, *shaykh* (i.e. supreme intendant) of the mosque of Aḥmad al-Badawī in Ṭanṭā; Muḥammad Efendī Mūrū, *qā'immaqām al-niqāba* in the Tughar of Alexandria; 'Alī al-'Ulaylī, *wakīl* (no other occupation mentioned) in the Tughar of Dimyāṭ; the *qāḍī* of the province of al-Qalyūbiyya (no name given); Muḥammad al-Bayyūmī, *wakīl* (no other occupation given) in Suways; 'Abd al-Raḥmān, *qāḍī* of the *bandar* of al-Manṣūra, and the *sartujjār* in the *bandar* of al-Zaqāzīq (no name given). In V-24(4)/1 (15 Ṣaf. 1297) 'Abd al-Raḥmān Abū 'l-Ḥasan is mentioned as *wakīl* of al-Bakrī and *qā'immaqām al-niqāba* in Būr Sa'īd.

There is some indication of a tendency towards monopolization of the office of *wakīl* (sometimes in combination with other offices) within the same family; cf. II-14/3 (23 Rab. I 1289), for the succession of the *wakīl* in Rashīd by a brother; V-22(2)/1 (8 Ṣaf. 1297) for the succession of the *wakīl* in al-Daqahliyya by his son, who was succeeded subsequently by his brother; cf. V-39(19)/3 (20 Raj. 1297).

[42] V-22(2)/1 (8 Ṣaf. 1297); V-39(19)/3 (20 Raj. 1297).

administration. It was a function of the number of *khulafā'* a *ṭarīqa* had in a specific area, as well as of the degree in which they were held in reverence by the local government officials. These, therefore, were required to show due respect for the *ṭarīqa* officials and had to assist them in the exercise of their duties.[43]

For the incumbents of the office of *nā'ib*, who, in addition to their task as liaison officers between the head of the *ṭarīqa* and the local *khulafā'*, had to supervise the *khulafā'*'s proper task performance, legitimacy of authority was not derived from recognition by common members, but primarily from the fact that a *ṭarīqa*'s *khulafā'* in a province had accepted a particular person as *nā'ib* over them.[44]

The presence of a *nā'ib* in any province depended entirely upon whether or not a *ṭarīqa* had officially recognized *khulafā'* in that area. This would only be the case when a *ṭarīqa* had right of *qadam*. Therefore, the existence of the office of *nā'ib* was due to the importance of the principle of right of *qadam* to the administration. Hence, the legitimacy of *nuwwāb*, similar to the legitimacy of the *khulafā'*, was an expression of agreement with the principle of right of *qadam* and, as such, a confirmation of the legitimacy of the whole administrative system.

Since *khulafā'* and *nuwwāb* all owed their authority positions to the fact that the principle of *qadam* had become the main structural principle of the administration, they had every reason to comply with the dependency-relationship that the head of their *ṭarīqa* had with al-Bakrī, as was implied by the very recognition of his authority. Since anybody recognizing al-Bakrī's authority at the same time recognized the principle of *qadam*, and therefore its legality, voluntary subordination to the head of a *ṭarīqa* who had done so also meant adherence to this principle.

To prevent confusion about rights of *qadam* and disfunctioning of the administration, *khulafā'* and *nuwwāb* were not allowed to hold office in, or to be a member of, more than one *ṭarīqa*.[45] Exclusive commitment was demanded from them, unlike that of ordinary members. These, however, if not actually forbidden to do so,[46]

[43] I-5/3 (10 Ṣaf. 1287); IV-16(8)/4 (2 Muḥ. 1290).

[44] I-44/2 (26 Shaw. 1287); I-44/6 (29 Shaw. 1289).

[45] II-13/4 (4 Rab. II 1289); II-14/1 (Rab. II 1289); V-8(15)/7 (6 Raj. 1296).

[46] On multiple membership, which implied submission to more than one spiritual master, divergent opinions are held by various authors; cf. Al-Sayyid b. Aḥmad al-Sayyid 'Imrān, *Al-Tuḥaf al-'Imrāniyya*, Cairo n.d. (1970), 16f. Generally, however,

were restricted in practice from being active members in more than one *ṭarīqa* by the principle of *qadam*.

No formal restrictions existed with respect to membership of a *ṭarīqa* which had no *qadam* in the area in which the member lived.[47] However, this practice cannot have been common, since in this situation the link of a *murīd* with his *khalīfa* had no meaning within the *ṭuruq* administration. The *khalīfa* whose *ṭarīqa* had no *qadam* in the area in which his *murīd* was resident could not intervene on behalf of the *murīd* in cases of dispute, nor could he legally mediate and claim preferential treatment for him in case of detention and suit in court.[48] This would not be tolerated since the *murīd* was not considered to be under his jurisdiction.

Another factor discouraging this form of membership must have been that members of a *ṭarīqa* without *qadam* in their area could not be active in public there unless their activities were staged under the supervision of a *khalīfa* of a *ṭarīqa* which had *qadam*. Hence, this made them very dependent upon *khulafā'* of a *ṭarīqa* to which they did not belong.[49]

c. *The ṭuruq administration and the government*

To the government, al-Bakrī's administration provided clearly identifiable officials — the *khulafā'* and the *nuwwāb* — who were more suited to dealing effectively with the mass of *ṭuruq* members, according to the rules proper to the realm itself, than was the as yet inadequate government bureaucracy.[50]. In addition, the government could control the organization of other religious celebrations and *mawālid* through these officials, who, very conveniently, could be held responsible for the proper behaviour of those participating in these celebrations as well as for the orderly performance during *ḥaḍarāt* on these and

it was disapproved of; cf. C. E. Farah, 'Social implications of a Sufi disciple's etiquette', in F. Rundgren (ed.), *Proceedings of the 6th Congress of Arabic and Islamic Studies*, Stockholm/Leiden 1975, 53. Nevertheless, it was a very common phenomenon as is amply shown by the many references to the multiple *ṭarīqa* membership of *ṭarīqa* founders throughout the present study. Ethical and practical issues involved are discussed in 'Su'āl "Hal yajūzu li-man akhadha 'alā Shaykh an yadhhaba ilā Ghayrihi", Alexandria Municipal Library, MS *nūn* 3159 *jīm* (collection).

[47] Cf. V-9 (16)/1 (6 Raj. 1296).

[48] I-35/2 (11 Shaw. 1287) and I-37/2 (23 Shaw. 1287).

[49] I-5/3 (10 Shaw. 1287); IV-17 (8)/4 (2 Muḥ. 1290).

[50] For the same reasons the government was interested in keeping the guild system intact; cf. Baer, *Guilds*, 107.

other occasions. Hence, for the government, al-Bakrī's administration had become advantageous. Therefore, the principle on which this administration was centred, and which accounted for the fact that it had developed into a system which met the State's administrative needs, was not only recognized by the government, but an active rôle in safeguarding this principle was also played by its agencies, which could be called upon by al-Bakrī to counter any violation of it.

Indeed, no violation of rights of *qadam* could be tolerated,[51] since once such a precedent had been set, it might lead the heads of the *ṭuruq* to lose confidence in al-Bakrī's protection of their territorial interests. It would weaken an important incentive for accepting al-Bakrī's authority and might lead them to an independent course, which, if done by a sufficient number, would make it hard to maintain right of *qadam*. Should this principle be abandoned it would open the way to an increase in the number of *khulafā'* in the various areas, which would imply that authority would no longer be held over units of a size that made them practicable as vehicles of government administration. Therefore, al-Bakrī's administration in conjunction with the government agencies, would take action in the case of violation of *qadam*, not only because it meant a violation of their conjoint interests, but also since the disputes among the various *ṭuruq*, which might be the outcome, would endanger the proper functioning of society.

d. *Conflicts about right of qadam and their resolution*

A dispute about *qadam* would commonly emerge when a *khalīfa* entered an area where his *ṭarīqa* had no right of *qadam*, and either started to initiate new members, stage *ḥaḍarāt* or take part in the celebrations of minor *mawālid* in that area.[52] This was considered to be the most flagrant violation. However, a considerable time could elapse, sometimes amounting to years, before action would be taken against the intruding *ṭarīqa*, which by then might have attracted considerable membership. This delay might be the result of the decline of the section of the *ṭarīqa* which had right of *qadam* in the area after the death of its local *khalīfa*, combined with the neglect and indifference

[51] 'Alī Mubārak does not speak about the principle of right of *qadam* but mentions it implicitly when he writes "*wa li-kulli ṭarīqa jihāt ma'lūma lā tatajāwazuhā*"; *Khiṭ.*, iii, 134.

[52] I-45/2 (8 Qa'da 1287); I-47/4 (28 Qa'da 1287); I-72/5 (19 Raj. 1288).

of the local authorities in the matter. A revival of the *ṭarīqa* at this level would then go together with claims for right of *qadam* and appropriate action to obtain it.[53] When al-Bakrī's administration developed, conflicts arising in this way seem to have declined. These conflicts could also be dealt with in court,[54] but preference was given to arbitration by a council of *ṭuruq* officials, sometimes extending to *mashāyikh* and *'umad* of the area where the conflict had emerged.[55] Witnesses would be heard in court proceedings, just as they would in cases of arbitration by this council.[56] In addition, testimony from the heads of the *ṭuruq* claiming *qadam* in an area would be demanded by al-Bakrī,[57] who could also instruct one of his *wukalā'* in the provinces to carry out an investigation.[58] *Wukalā'*, however, could not enforce *qadam*, nor could the local *khulafā'*, since they lacked the power-means to do so. They could only see to it that, once the rights of *qadam* had been established, everything was done by the *shaykh al-nāḥiya*, the *'umda* and the local *ma'mūr* to enforce and maintain these rights.[59]

Indeed, maintenance of right of *qadam*, and therefore maintenance of al-Bakrī's authority, and hence the whole *ṭuruq* administration, depended upon the active intervention of these officials representing a government which had recognized it as useful to its administration, and was therefore obliged to act in its support.

e. *The ashrāf as ṭarīqa officials*

Khulafā' of sharifian descent were in an exceptional position, since if they infringed the right of *qadam* of a particular *ṭarīqa*, no official action could be taken against them. It was felt that to do so contravened the respect to which *ashrāf* were entitled.[60] This, together with the fact that restriction on movement of inhabitants of

[53] I-17/7 & 18/1 (24 Rab. I 1287); V-9 (16)/1 (6 Raj. 1296).
[54] I-31/4 (21 Raj. 1287); I-53/2 (20 Ṣaf. 1288); II-35/2 (13 Qa'da 1289).
[55] V-49/2 (10 Muḥ. 1287); V-51/7 (8 Qa'da 1287).
[56] I-59/2 (18 Rab. I 1288).
[57] II-20/4 (19 Raj. 1289); III-1/1 (2 Muḥ. 1290); IV-17(8) (2 Muḥ. 1290); III-9/1 (24 Rab. I 1290); V-35 (15)/2 (15 Jum. II 1297).
[58] I-59/2 (18 Rab. I 1288); I-65/2 (25 Rab. II 1288). Sometimes preference was given to the provincial governor carrying out such an investigation; cf. I-45/2 (8 Qa'da 1287) and I-72/5 (19 Raj. 1288). It is not clear when this was preferred.
[59] I-53/2 (20 Ṣaf. 1288); I-59/1 (18 Rab. I 1288); V-1(8)/1, 2 (19 Ram. 1296).
[60] I-17/2 (13 Rab. I 1287); I-50/6 (28 Muḥ. 1288); I-68/5 (17 Jum. II 1288); II-36/6 (14 Qa'da 1288);

rural areas did not apply to them,[61] made *khulafā'* of sharifian descent the main proselytizing agents of the various *ṭuruq*.

In the case of disputes about *qadam* involving *ashrāf*, al-Bakrī would be informed and would verify the legality of the claims made.[62] In order to do so, he could ask the provincial *naqīb* in whose area a dispute occurred to investigate the matter and inform him of the outcome.[63] If the claim was substantiated he would instruct local government officials to take steps in order to prevent obstruction of the *ashrāf* involved.[64]

Thus, the particular rôle *ashrāf* had come to play as important proselytizing agents, was a direct consequence of the emergence of the principle of *qadam* as the central value of al-Bakrī's administration. This development had proportionately increased the significance of the provincial *nuqabā'* since now, in addition to the rôle they had played with respect to the administration of the shrines in the provinces since the days of 'Alī al-Bakrī's predecessor, they had also come to be instrumental in the administration of the *ṭuruq*. This was further shown by the fact that some of the provincial *nuqabā'* held the office of *wakīl* within the administration at the same time (see p. 47 f. and note 41).

That the provincial *nuqabā'* had ceased to be appointed for terms of one year only, seems to have been of some significance in bringing about this state of affairs.[65] These officials had come to hold this office for a much longer period, which gave a certain permanency to the authority exercised by its incumbents and made a further integration with al-Bakrī's administration worthwhile.[66]

[61] V-49/2 (10 Muḥ. 1287); I-2/4 (20 Muḥ. 1287); III-4/2 (13 Ṣaf. 1290); V-22 (2)/2 (8 Ṣaf. 1297); V-23 (3)/2 (15 Ṣaf. 1297); V-29 (9)/1 (14 Rab. I 1297).
[62] I-50/6 (28 Muḥ. 1288); I-72/3 (18 Raj. 1288); II-2/6 (9 Muḥ. 1289).
[63] I-17/2 (13 Rab. I 1287); II-36/2 (28 Qa'da 1289).
[64] I-50/6 (28 Muḥ. 1288); I-72/3 (18 Raj. 1288); II-2/6 (9 Muḥ. 1289); II-32/8 (1 Qa'da 1289).
[65] See chapter 1, note 164. Exactly when this trend started is not known.
[66] Sometimes these offices tended to stay within the same family. See e.g. II-14/3 (23 Ram. 1289), for the transfer of the office of *naqīb* in Rashīd within the same family. The office of *naqīb* of al-Gharbiyya province was held by members of the Qaṣabī family in Ṭanṭā. Its incumbent combined this office with the office of *imām* and *khaṭīb* of the Aḥmadī mosque. He also looked after the financial interests of the Bakrī family in this area, as is abundantly shown by the documents in the series F. Or. A. 283 and 285.

f. *Conflicts not related to qadam*

Besides disputes about *qadam*, conflicts occurred between *ṭuruq* with equal rights of *qadam* in an area owing to the competitive relationship they had with each other. *Khulafā'* and members of one *ṭarīqa* might oppose and obstruct activities of another, e.g. participation in a *mawkib*.[67] Complaints about such events reached al-Bakrī directly or through one of the officials already mentioned.[68] Any one of these could also be charged with carrying out an inquiry and with taking measures in order to reach a settlement.[69] Once this had been achieved, a *maḥḍar* would be drawn up and sent to him and he would inform the provincial governor, who had to see to the enactment of the settlement agreed upon.[70] Here, in particular, the *ḥākim al-khuṭṭ*[71] seems to have been of vital importance,[72] since he controlled movement within his district (*khuṭṭ*), i.e. between the *nawāḥī* (cantons), *bilād* (villages) and *ḥiṣaṣ* (sections of a village).

Deposition of *ṭuruq* officials, who did not fulfil their duties, was entirely within the jurisdiction of the heads of the *ṭuruq*.[73] Other sanctions which might be involved were expulsion from the *ṭarīqa*,[74] and temporary prohibition from participating on public occasions.[75] Generally, al-Bakrī would abstain from interference in the internal affairs of the *ṭuruq*, notably in disputes between members or *khulafā'* belonging to the same *ṭarīqa*, for which right of jurisdiction was reserved for its head. When, however, sanctions administered by the head of the *ṭarīqa* aroused indignation and jeopardized the effectiveness of the administration, al-Bakrī would intervene by instructing his *wakīl* to arrange for hearings by a council of *ṭarīqa* officials.[76]

g. *The mawālid and the ṭuruq*

The relevance that al-Bakrī's administration had for the government led its agents to take an active interest in its proper functioning. For this,

[67] I-28/8 (27 Jum. I 1287); V-12 (19)/5 (21 Ram. 1296).
[68] I-80/1 (25 Sha'bān 1288); V-2 (9)/5 (21 Ram. 1296); V-32 (12)/2 (29 Jum. II 1297); V-41 (20)/2 (14 Sha'bān 1297).
[69] I-67/3 (21 Jum. I 1288); II-2/7 (9 Muḥ. 1289); V-32 (12)/2 (28 Rab. II 1297).
[70] II-8/2 (1 Ram. 1289); V-11 (18)/4 (22 Raj. 1296); V-32 (12)/2 (28 Rab. II 1297).
[71] For a discussion of this office see Rivlin, 92ff.
[72] I-78/4 (11 Sha'bān 1288).
[73] I-47/3 (15 Ḥijja 1287); II-18/5 (6 Raj. 1289).
[74] DWQ (unclassified) 141 (23 Ṣaf. 1279); I-63/1 (15 Rab. II 1288).
[75] I-60/7 (28 Rab. I 1288); I-78/4 (11 Sha'bān 1288); V-34 (14)/5 (9 Jum. I 1297).
[76] I-47/3 (15 Ḥijja 1287).

it was essential that the various offices remained occupied and operative. Therefore, whenever a *ṭarīqa* official neglected his duties, or when an office of *khalīfa* or *nā'ib* had been unoccupied for some time and the *murīdūn* had made no request to appoint a new official, the government agents — notably the provincial governor and the local *qāḍī* — would do so.[77] This seldom happened, however, particularly in respect to the office of *khalīfa*; the vacancy of the office of *khalīfā* would set considerable restrictions on the activity of the *murīdūn*. Therefore, it was in their interest to prevent any delay in the presentation of a request for appointment of a new *khalīfa* over them.

Vacancy of the office of *khalīfa* had little bearing on the functioning of the *ṭarīqa* at the level of weekly routine, since the weekly *ḥaḍarāt* did not necessarily have to take place in public — either in a mosque or in the open — but could be held in private houses where the presence of such an official was not required. However, it did have serious implications for an area of activity crucial to the *ṭuruq*: the *mawālid*.

The responsibility of celebrating the *mawālid* was considered to rest above all with the *khulafā'*, both by the wider society as well as by the members of the *ṭuruq*.[78]. These celebrations consisted of processions of the *ṭuruq* — with their banners and other attributes[79] — of public *ḥaḍarāt*, sometimes in tents erected for this purpose near the shrine of the saint whose *mawlid* was celebrated, and of *khadamāt*, i.e. the free distributions of food and drink.[80]

These were the main occasions on which a *ṭarīqa* or the local lodge of a *ṭarīqa* could manifest itself to the wider society and draw new members. But, what was even more important, this communal engagement in a variety of activities during the *mawālid*, in accordance with the expectations of a wider society and approved by it, served as a self-confirmation to the members of the *ṭarīqa*. This *was* the *ṭarīqa*

[77] II-18/4 (6 Raj. 1289).
[78] For the *khulafā'* themselves the most generally accepted ultimate ethical justification of the effort they made in organizing the celebrations of *mawālid* seems to have been that they did so as a *khidma li'l-nabī*, a service performed out of love for the Prophet; cf. IV-2/2 (n.d.; 1288).
[79] These were collectively referred to as *'udda* and were considered as the symbols of office-bearing and as indispensable to proper task-performance; cf. IV- 1/2-21 (n.d. 1288). For an enumeration of these attributes see chapter I, note 8; cf. chapter III, p. 100f. for additional information concerning other occasions in which the participation of *khulafā'* depended upon the possession of these attributes.
[80] For other meanings of this term, see below note 170.

which, since it was only allowed to manifest itself as a group in public under a *khalīfa*, officially confirmed as such by al-Bakrī, could not attain this transcendental level when the office was vacant or when its incumbent was inactive.

To conduct celebrations of *mawālid* of local significance was generally a right of the incumbent of a saint's shrine. He could be a *khalīfa* at the same time, in which case intendancy of the shrine, as well as the right to conduct the *mawlid* celebrations, might become considered as part of the right of *qadam* of his *ṭarīqa*.[81] The right to conduct *mawlid* celebrations would definitely account for part of a *khalīfa*'s right of *qadam* in an area, if he could provide evidence that members of his *ṭarīqa* had been organizing a particular *mawlid* prior to anyone else.[82]

Disputes might emerge about the right to conduct celebrations, in particular when payments involved came out of *awqāf* revenues or from other sources in order to meet the expenses on these occasions. These would be dealt with similarly to the way in which disputes about *qadam* were handled.[83]

It was possible for a person who had the right to conduct the celebration of a *mawlid* to cede this right to somebody else. This, however, was not considered a personal affair but something which was the concern of the whole community. Therefore the *mashāyikh* of the area had to agree with the intended change and meetings of the local government officials and other notables might be convened in order to reach such a decision.[84]

Anybody who wanted to conduct celebrations of a *mawlid* had to ask permission of al-Bakrī some time in advance. After the applicant's rights had been checked and found valid, al-Bakrī would inform the governor of the province in which the *mawlid* was to take place that he had no objection and he would request him to give permission for the *mawlid* to be held.[85] That is, it finally depended on the permission of the provincial governor whether or not a *mawlid* could take place.

Although permission would generally be granted, it was nevertheless

[81] II-31/1 (14 Shaw. 1289).
[82] *Ibid.*
[83] II-15/3 (9 Jum. I 1289).
[84] I-64/1 (22 Rab. II 1288).
[85] II-16/1 (17 Jum. I 1289); II-18/3 (27 Jum. II 1289); V-30 (10)/3 (2 Rab. II 1297). See also *Khiṭ.*, iii, 134.

more than a mere formality. Many *mawālid* attracted visitors from a wide area[86] involving migration of substantial numbers of people who would be unproductive for the time they attended the celebrations. Therefore, permission might not be granted when the celebrations were not compatible with requirements for the proper tilling of the fields, current corvée duties, or for reasons of public health.[87] When, notwithstanding such impediments, permission to hold a *mawlid* was granted, the number of attendants could be limited by a refusal to lift the travel restrictions existent in the countryside. It seems, however, that such restrictions were frequently relaxed and that it had even become customary to allow for a limited freedom of movement, which had to be respected by the *mashāyikh al-nawāḥī*.[88]

Care was taken by al-Bakrī and the heads of the *ṭuruq* in conjunction with the provincial governorates that the celebrations of these *mawālid* did not coincide.[89] The provincial governorates contributed to the costs of the celebrations[90] and also occasionally provided decorations and fireworks.[91]

[86] During most of the *mawālid* markets were held; cf. A. von Kremer, *Aegypten*, ii vols., Leipzig 1863, vol. ii, 223.
[87] DWQ, *daftar* 1882 *ḥ* 3 (*awāmir*), p. 420, *mus.* 77 (28 Ram. 1271); *idem.*, p. 511, *mus.* 883 (2 Qa'da 1271); *idem*, p. 573, *mus.* 1165 (20 Ḥijja 1271).
[88] IV-7/1 (14 Rab. I 1289). For a governmental decree giving temporary freedom of movement (without *tadhākir murūr*) for those who wished to attend the *mawlid* of Aḥmad al-Badawī and the *mawlid* of Ibrāhīm al-Disūqī prior to 'Alī al-Bakrī's term of office, see DWQ, *daftar* 38 (Ma'iyya Turkī), *mus.* 231/232 (15 Muḥ. 1245).
[89] II-14/7-15/1 (7 Jum. I 1289); III-16/3 (10 Jum. I 1290); V-5 (12)/4 (5 Jum. II 1296); V-31 (11)/4 (20 Rab. II 1297).
[90] DWQ, *daftar* 1899 *ḥ* 2 (*awāmir*), p. 13, *mus.* 34 (27 Raj. 1278): permission to *mudīriyyat* Qinā and Isnā' to spend 7700 *qirsh* on the *mawlid* of 'Abd al-Raḥīm al-Qināwī; DWQ, *daftar* 1899 *ḥ* 2 (*awāmir*), p. 109, *mus.* 72 (17 Shaw. 1278): khedivial order to the governor of Rawḍat al-Baḥrayn (this province became part of al-Minūfiyya and al-Gharbiyya; cf. Deny, 483) to spend 2937 *qirsh* on the small *mawlid* of Aḥmad al-Badawī and the small *mawlid* of al-Disūqī; DWQ, *daftar* 534 (Ma'iyya Turkī), p. 61, *mus.* 1 (7 Shaw. 1279): from the governor of al-Sharqiyya to *Ma'iyya*, informing him that 7222 *qirsh* had been spent on decorations for the *mawlid* of al-Badawī and of al-Disūqī; DWQ, *daftar* 526 (Ma'iyya Turkī), p. 68, *qism* 2 (11 Shaw. 1279): order to *mudiriyyat* al-Gharbiyya to spend 13097 *qirsh* (instead of 5800) on the *mawlid* of Aḥmad al-Badawī and of Ibrāhīm al-Disūqī.
[91] DWQ, *daftar* 1889, p. 3, *mus.* 2 (24 Muḥ. 1274). Permission to *mudiriyyat* al-Daqahliyya to spend 1025 *qirsh* and 21 (*niṣf*) *fiḍḍa* (*para*) on fireworks at the *mawlid* of 'Aṭiyya al-Bandārī in al-Zaqāzīq.
The size of this amount as well as of the amounts mentioned in note 90 appears when compared with the monthly salaries paid to the officials of the Alexandria customs in 1271 (after the rise in emoluments that year) listed by Sāmī, *Taqwīm*, i/3, 93 f.: chief intendant — 1087,30 *qirsh*; Turkish scribe — 599,10 *qirsh*; guardsmen — 70 *qirsh*; and the monthly salaries paid in 1273 to medical and semi-medical personnel

The most famous one was the autumn *mawlid* of Aḥmad al-Badawī in Ṭanṭā which attracted more visitors than any other.[92] This created a problem of safety which made it the only *mawlid* to which military reinforcements were sent from Cairo, so that public order might be maintained.[93]

All the *mawālid* of Aḥmad al-Badawī[94] were attended by al-Bakrī, who made optimal use of his presence by presiding personally over a council which had to investigate and mediate in current disputes[95] and also by inspecting the way in which his lands in the area were administered by his *wakīl*.[96] On such occasions he received a payment from the *ṣundūq al-Aḥmadī* to meet his expenses in connection with the celebrations.[97]

h. *The shrines*

A host of officials were attached to the shrines and mosques of Aḥmad al-Badawī and Ibrāhīm al-Disūqī.[98] All of these had their own

in the army, where according to rank salaries were paid varying between 500 *qirsh* (*mulāzim thānī*) to 10,000 *qirsh* (*mīrālāy*); cf. *ibid.*, 188. Compare also the monthly salaries paid to provincial officials in 1279 as listed in Sāmī, ibid., i/3, 412f. These varied between 650 and 1100 *qirsh* for secretaries, between 300 and 500 *qirsh* for scribes and were fixed at 60 *qirsh* for doorkeepers and water-carriers.

[92] Kremer, ii, 221, mentions that the population of Ṭanṭā increased during this *mawlid* from 19,500 to 100,000. Large fairs were held during this *mawlid* and during other *mawālid*; *ibid.*, 233.

[93] DWQ, *daftar* 534 (Ma'iyya Turkī), p. 61, *mus.* 3 (16 Shaw. 1279).

[94] Three times yearly a *mawlid* was and still is celebrated, in the middle of January, on or about the vernal equinox, and in autumn after the completion of the harvest. These are known as *al-mawlid al-ṣaghīr*, *al-mawlid al-rajabī* and *al-mawlid al-kabīr*. On the origin of these *mawālid* see *Khiṭ.*, xiii, 50-51. A week after each of these *mawālid*, a *mawlid* of Ibrāhīm al-Disūqī is celebrated in the town of Disūq.

[95] *Khiṭ.*, iii, 134.

[96] I-5/5, 6 (13 Ṣaf. 1287); I-52/3 (14 Ṣaf. 1288); I-62/4 (10 Rab. I 1288); III-2/4 (14 Muḥ. 1290); III-2/6 (24 Muḥ. 1290).

[97] I-26/7 (13 Jum. I 1287); I-66/3 (14 Jum. I 1288); III-18/2 (3 Jum. II 1290).

[98] This was equally the case with the larger shrine-mosques. The following categories of officials can be distinguished:

1. *shaykh khidmat al-masjid* or *ḍarīḥ*: he had the full-time supervision over all who were employed at the establishment. He could also have a *wakīl* who then had the same task.
2. Those who were employed at the institution full-time and occupied themselves with *'ilm*. This category included salaried *a'imma*, teachers who gave daily lessons (in some mosques only) in order to instruct the general public about their religion, and *'ulamā'* who had to recite al-Bukhārī daily.
3. The same officials mentioned sub 2 but who were only engaged at such an institution once weekly.
4. The *waẓā'if al-da'wa*, including *mu'adhdhinūn*, *muballighūn*, *mīqātiyyūn*, and Qur'ān readers who did so daily.
5. Officials who had a function on Friday only, *viz. al-mustaqbil*, *al-muraqqī*, the reader of the *sūrat al-kahf*.
6. Those who had a daily function inside a mosque or shrine, *viz.* supervisors, those enforcing order, those in charge of stores, scribes especially employed for the mosque, servants, those in charge of the lamps and/or candles.
7. Those who had a daily function outside the mosque, *viz.* the doormen, the guards of the mosque, those in charge of the amenities, those in charge of the waterwheel, "he who has to fill the buckets with water", "he who is in charge of the *sabīl*", the water carriers, and "those who distribute water".

Cf. Dīwān 'Umūm al-Awqāf, *Lā'iḥat al-Nudhūrāt bi'l-Masājid wa 'l-Aḍriḥa al-Tābi'a li-Dīwān 'Umūm al-Awqāf*, Cairo 1316, 7ff.

For the various offices at the mosque of al-Ḥusayn in Cairo and an enumeration of the names of those who held these offices in the 19th and early 20th century, see Maḥmūd b. 'Alī al-Biblāwī, *Al-Ta'rīkh al-Ḥusaynī*, Cairo 1324, 55ff.

[99] Cf. *Taqrīr 'an Waẓīfat al-Khilāfa bi'l-Maqām al-Aḥmadī*, n.p., n.d. (1898 approx.), *passim*; and *Al-Taqrīr al-Awwal li-Mashyakhat al-Jāmi' al-Aḥmadī*, Cairo 1327, 20, 41.

[100] Cf. *Al-Taqrīr al-Awwal li-Mashyakhat al-Jāmi' al-Aḥmadī*, 4, 41; and DMS, *sijill* 9, *mādda* 21, 12 (27 Muḥ. 1265). In the latter document Muḥammad al-Ṭūkhī, Muḥammad al-Ḥifnāwī and Muḥammad al-Qaṣabī are mentioned as beneficiaries of *nudhūr*. The first taught at the Aḥmadī mosque; the second was the one-time *shaykh al-Mālikiyya* to it; the last-named was *shaykh al-'ulamā'* at the same mosque; cf. *Khiṭ.*, xiii, 46 and *Dhikrā Tashrīf Sumūw al-Janāb al-'Ālī al-Khudaywī al-Mu'aẓẓam 'Abbās Ḥilmī al-Thānī li'l-Jāmi' wa 'l-Ma'had al-Aḥmadī, sana 1332*, Cairo 1332, 20f.

[101] See e.g. DWQ, *daftar* 1880 (*awāmir*), p. 184, *mus.* 17/18 (6 Jum. II 1271) referring to a certain 'Ārif Bek as *nāẓir waqf al-sayyidayn* (i.e. al-Badawī and al-Disūqī); DWQ, *daftar* 1614 (*ṣādir ma'iyya*), p. 93, *mus.* 51 (17 Ṣaf. 1272) dealing with the succession of 'Ārif Bek by Aḥmad Bek as *nāẓir al-awqāf al-sayyidayn*, and DMS, *sijill* 7, mādda 206, p. 66 (11 Muḥ. 1252) and DMS, *sijill* 9, *mādda* 21, p. 12 (27 Muḥ. 1252) referring to Ḥasan al-Quwaysnī, who was *shaykh al-Azhar* from 1250 (1834) until 1254 (1838), as *nāẓir* of the *awqāf* of Aḥmad al-Badawī.

[102] According to P. Arminjon, *L'Enseignement, la Doctrine et la Vie dans les Universités Musulmanes d'Égypte*, Paris 1907, 62, the teaching staff, students etc., had their principal source of income from these offerings.

[103] E.g. to the students at the mosque; cf. *Al-Taqrīr al-Awwal*, 3.

[104] Cf. *Taqrīr 'an Waẓīfat al-Khilāfa*, 5, document 8.

rights to a share in the offerings made at these shrines,[99] as well as to certain revenues from *awqāf* established for their benefit.[100]. Supervision of some of these *awqāf* lay either with the *Awqāf* Department or with the private *nuẓẓār* who had no other connection with shrine or mosque.[101] Moreover, a part of the revenues from the *awqāf*[102] for these institutions as well as from the offerings made went to beneficiaries who stood entirely outside the realm of *taṣawwuf*.[103]

The complexity of the alliances and groups which had emerged as a result of these arrangements and the manifold interests involved, explain the fact that the jurisdiction al-Bakrī held over those in charge of these shrines was minimal, while they in turn attained these offices largely without recourse to him.[104]. He had become the

only person, however, who could appoint an intendant to the numerous other shrines, which were to be found in almost every village.[105] In this he followed established practice, which dictated that the intendant had to be related to the saint whose shrine he would supervise, or that he belonged to a family whose members traditionally controlled the shrine.[106] By so doing he ensured that the intendant's authority position was legitimate and hence effective. If anybody demanded official appointment as intendant of a shrine, al-Bakrī would carefully check his claims;[107] he would ask his *wakīl*, the provincial governor, and also the local *qāḍī* to make enquiries[108] and inhabitants from the area in which the shrine was situated could be asked to testify for or against the validity of the incumbent's claim.[109] In addition, enquiries were made as to his piety and his character in general which, it was felt, had to be suitable to this religious office.[110] Appointment of anybody outside the forementioned categories was felt to be a violation of the norms in this respect. If this happened it would result in strong corrective action by the wider society in the form of petitions demanding a reversal of the appointment.[111]

Whenever disputes about intendancy occurred, al-Bakrī's *wukalā'*,[112] or the local *qāḍī*[113] or the provincial governor could intervene,[114] conduct inquiries and arrange for the solution of the conflict. Once the rightful intendant had been established, they also had to take measures to enable him to exercise control over the shrine, the donations made to it and the *niẓāra* of its *awqāf* (if there were any and if the *niẓāra* was to be vested in the intendant).[115] Following the appointment al-Bakrī would also inform the provincial governor and the *Awqāf* Department, if the *awqāf* of the shrine were administered by the Department.[116]

[105] Cf. Lane, 245.

[106] I-49/4 (1 Muḥ. 1288); V-4(11)/2 (17 Jum. I 1296); V-10(17)/2 (17 Raj. 1296); V-21(1)/3 (7 Muḥ. 1297).

[107] I-86/5 (29 Ram. 1288); III-35/4 (28 Jum. I 1290); V-20(27)/1 (18 Jum. II 1296); V-41(21)/1 (13 Sha'bān 1297).

[108] I-49/4 (1 Muḥ. 1288); I-65/1 (23 Rab. II 1288); V-30(10)/4 (25 Rab. II 1297).

[109] I-34/4 (4 Shaw. 1287); V-33(13)/4 (1 Jum. II 1297).

[110] Cf. I-84/9 (29 Ram. 1288).

[111] I-73/2 (23 Raj. 1288).

[112] I-49/4 (end of Muḥ. 1288); I-52/2 (13 Ṣaf. 1288); V-28(8)/2 (14 Rab. II 1297).

[113] I-65/3 (25 Rab. II 1288); V-21/3 (7 Muḥ. 1297).

[114] V-21(1)/2 (1 Muḥ. 1297); V-30(10)/4 (2 Rab. II 1297).

[115] I-84/9 (29 Ram. 1288); V-5(12)/2 (27 Jum. I 1296); V-30(10)/4 (5 Rab. II 1297).

[116] V-23(3)/3 (15 Ṣaf. 1297); V-34(14)/3 (9 Jum. II 1297).

i. *The mawlid al-nabī celebrations*

Besides the *mawālid* celebrated in commemoration of most of the saints buried in these shrines, the major occasion on which the *ṭuruq* manifested themselves was during the celebrations of the birthday of the Prophet.[117]

In Cairo, the organization of these celebrations was primarily the concern of al-Bakrī, who on this occasion received a payment from the treasury (*al-khazīna al-'āmira*) as a contribution to his expenses.[118] The Cairo municipality contributed by providing him with rice, mutton, cooking butter, tea and wood,[119] while the Administration of the Khedivial Estate sent sugar and provided cooking utensils.[120]

At about the middle of *Ṣafar* the length of duration of the *mawlid* was fixed at a meeting of religious dignitaries, in the house of the *qāḍī* of Cairo, which included the heads of the *ṭuruq* and the *qāḍī* himself.[121] Subsequently al-Bakrī would request the governor of Cairo to send him the *firmān mawlid al-rasūl*.[122] In this document permission was given to celebrate the *mawlid* for the period determined by this meeting. Al-Bakrī informed his *wukalā'* in the provinces of the duration and instructed them to make it publicly known.[123] On 25 *Ṣafar* the *ṭuruq* gathered near Bāb al-Khalq with their banners, flags and instruments. They went from there in procession to the palace

[117] For a general work on these celebrations in the Islamic world in general and in Egypt in particular, see al-Sandūbī, *Ta'rikh al-Iḥtifāl bi'l-Mawlid al-Nabawī*.

[118] I-27/2 (16 Jum. I 1287); II-4/3 (20 Ṣaf. 1289). The amount used to be 1500 *qirsh*, i.e. L.E. 15. 'Alī Mubārak writing about a decade later, estimated the total amount spent by al-Bakrī on these celebrations at L.E. 300 to which the government contributed with L.E. 35. An idea of the value of the former amount may be obtained when it is compared with the monthly salaries of the teachers at *Dār al-'Ulūm*, varying between 300 and 400 *qirsh* in 1288; cf. Sāmī, *Taqwim*, ii/3, 938.

DWQ, *daftar* 1884 (*awāmir*), p. 44, *mus.* 154 (18 Jum. II 1272), gives 1450 *qirsh* as the amount paid to al-Bakrī. The value of this amount becomes clear by the maybe not entirely apt comparison with the daily wages earned around that time (1882) by unskilled workers (4 P.T.), bricklayers (8 P.T.) and of craftsmen like master-masons (10 P.T.) and skilled weavers (5 P.T.); cf. Yacoub Artin, *Essai sur les Causes du Renchérissement de la Vie Matérielle au Caire*, Cairo 1907, 125.

[119] I-7/8 (18 Ṣaf. 1287); I-52/5 (19 Ṣaf. 1288); III-4/6 (18 Ṣaf. 1290). The following quantities used to be provided: 156 *uqqa* (195 kg.) white rice; 900 *uqqa* (1124 kg.) firewood; 133 *raṭl* (60 kg.) mutton; 200 *raṭl* (90 kg.) *samn* (clarified butter); 10 *uqqa* (12½ kg.) *maslī* (cooking butter).

[120] I-14/1 (end of Ṣaf. 1287).

[121] G. Ebers, *Aegypten in Bild und Wort dargestellt*, ii vols., Stuttgart/Leipzig 1879-1880; ii, 120.

[122] I-7/7 (18 Ṣaf. 1287); II-4/2 (20 Ṣaf. 1289).

[123] I-11/2 (end of Ṣaf. 1287).

of al-Bakrī at al-Azbakiyya.[124] Here the heads of *ṭuruq*, *takāyā* and shrines, as well as other dignitaries were waiting. They had all previously attended a banquet at the invitation of al-Bakrī. Then the *firmān al-mawlid* was read,[125] and subsequently there was a public announcement of which nights of the *mawlid* celebrations the various *ṭuruq* were expected to attend at the palace of al-Bakrī to hold a *dhikr* or to pass by in procession.[126]

On the following day a gathering of Qur'ān readers took place at the palace[127] when, besides recitations from the Qur'ān, the *ḥizb al-Bakrī* and a *mawlid* were also recited.[128] In the evening, princes, *'ulamā'*, ministers, high government officials and other dignitaries were invited to listen to the recitation of a *mawlid* again and to attend the reception of the heads of the *ṭuruq*. These all received woollen robes of honour, with the exception of the heads of al-Rifā'iyya and al-Sa'diyya, who received special robes made of broadcloth.[129] This ceremonial was preceded and followed by processions of the *ṭuruq* and by *dhikr* sessions inside as well as outside the palace of al-Bakrī.

[124] The celebrations were centred here until 1287 (1870), when during the reorganization of the Azbakiyya area, the palace of al-Bakrī was demolished. In exchange he received a palace in the Shārī' al-Khurunfish, which had belonged to Muḥammad 'Alī's grand-son Khalil; cf. *Khiṭ.*, iii, 26, and also I-27/4 (16 Jum. I 1287); V-45/2 (16 Jum. I 1287); and I-46/5 (2 Ḥijja 1287). From 1288 (1871) onwards the celebrations were held on the open grounds east of Bāb Qaṣr al-Nīl near Būlāq; cf. I-51/6 (7 Saf. 1288); I-52/4 (17 Ṣaf. 1288); I-55/6 (3 Rab. I 1288). In 1882 the site of the official celebrations was moved to al-'Abbāsiyya: cf. A.J. Butler, *Court Life in Egypt*, London 1887, 262.

[125] See Aḥmad Shafīq, *Mudhakkirātī fī Niṣf Qarn*, iii vols., Cairo 1935-36, i, 518.

[126] The use of the words *mawkib* (pl. *mawākib*) and *ishāra* (pl. *ashāyir*), both with the meaning of procession, in the documents in the series F. Or. A. 283 and 284 suggests that the former term was applied exclusively to the large official processions on the occasion of the principal *mawālid* and the major Islamic festivals. The word *ishāra* denotes the processions, mostly held at night, during which one, or at any rate a limited number of *ṭuruq*, manifested themselves during a *mawlid* or at some other occasion, e.g. during the celebrations of the *mawlid al-nabī* when various *ṭuruq* were invited by al-Bakrī to this effect. These processions which were held with great frequency, were often of considerable length, in particular in Cairo and Alexandria; cf. H. Couvidou, *Étude sur l'Égypte contemporaine*, Le Caire, 284f. See also chapter I, note 8.

[127] On this occasion about 200 professional Qur'ān readers used to be present; cf. *Khiṭ.*, iii, 133. By the agreement with al-Azhar in 1847, al-Bakrī had also obtained authority over the *shaykh al-maqārī'* (the head of the corporation of Qur'ān readers). The practical implications of this arrangement are not clear. See also below chapter IV, note 36.

[128] Generally it was the *mawlid* of al-Barzanjī which was read on these occasions; cf. Amīn, 320.

[129] *Khiṭ.*, iii, 133.

Tents were erected here — confined to the area of al-Azbakiyya — for this purpose.[130]

On 12 *Rabī' al-Awwal* the *dawsa* was held, the famous ritual at which the *shaykh* of the Sa'diyya rode on horseback over a carpet of prostrate members of this *ṭarīqa*. After the termination of the *dawsa* the Sa'diyya went in procession to the tent of al-Bakrī. Upon their arrival al-Bakrī, after receiving a robe of honour of sable fur from the government, again distributed robes of honour to the heads of the *ṭuruq*, as well as to the heads of the *takāyā* and shrines.[131]

On the night of 12 *Rabī' al-Awwal*, the last night, the khedive attended the *ṣiwān* of al-Bakrī together with his entourage and his ministers. Here the *'ulamā'*, government officials and dignitaries were also present[132] to listen to the recitation of the story of the *mawlid*

[130] This happened under al-Bakrī's supervision. During the *mawlid al-nabī* celebrations in 1287, for instance, twenty-five tents were set up and allocated by him to the various *ṭuruq*; cf. I-12 (end of Ṣaf. 1287).

[131] *Khiṭ.*, *ibid.* Those who used to be present on these occasions are listed below.

[132] *'Ulamā'* invited by al-Bakrī to attend the *mawlid al-nabī* celebrations in 1287/1870 were Muṣṭafā al-'Arūsī (the then *shaykh al-Azhar*; cf. al-Zayyātī, *Kanz al-Jawhar*, 146f., for biographical data); Muṣṭafā al-'Arishī; Muḥammad al-Imbābī (later *shaykh al-Azhar*; cf. al-Zayyātī, *ibid.*, 151ff. for biographical data); Salīm (*imām* of the Muḥammad 'Alī mosque at the citadel); Muḥammad al-Mahdī al-'Abbāsī (the then *muftī* of Egypt; cf. Zakhūrā, i, 225); Ḥasan al-Quwaysnī; 'Alī al-Baqlī (the former *muftī* of the *Majlis al-Aḥkām*; cf. Zakhūrā, i, 157); Ḥasan (*shaykh 'umūm al-maqāri'*); Muḥammad 'Alī al-Minyāwī (teacher at the Madrasat al-Tawfīqiyya; cf. Yūsuf Sarkīs, *Mu'jam al-Maṭbū'āt al-'Arabiyya wa 'l-Mu'arraba*, Cairo 1928, 168); 'Abd al-Qādir al-Rāfi'ī (*muftī* in the *Dīwān al-Awqāf* and later *shaykh al-sāda al-Ḥanafiyya*; cf. Muḥammad Rashīd al-Rāfi'ī, *Tarjamat Ḥayāt ... al-Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir al-Rāfi'ī ...*, Cairo: Mṭ. al-Taqaddum 1323); 'Alī al-'Adawī (*khādim maqām Sidī Ḥamza al-Sirsī* near 'Ābidīn Palace); Ibrāhīm al-Saqqā (*khaṭīb* of al-Azhar mosque; cf. Zakhūrā, i, 233f.); Muḥammad 'Abd al-Wāḥid al-Ḥarīrī (*shaykh al-sajjāda al-'Ināniyya* and later *imām* to the khedive Tawfīq) see below chapter III, page 104); Abū 'l-'Alā' al-Khalfāwī (the *muftī* of the *Majlis al-Aḥkām*); Bayyūmī (?) Makram; Ḥasan al-'Idwī (cf. *Khiṭ.*, xiv, 37, for biographical data); Muḥammad al-Ashmūnī (for biographical data, see Zakhūrā, i, 200); cf. I-11/2 (end of Ṣaf. 1287).

Civil dignitaries who were invited to attend the celebrations and are mentioned in I-14/2 (6 Rab. I 1287), though mostly not named, included the *ra'is Majlis al-Isti'nāf Miṣr*; the *ma'mūr Khuṭṭ Miṣr*; the *muḥāfiẓ*; the *amīn shimāl Miṣr*; the *nāẓir Dā'irat al-Saniyya* (Ṭal'at Bāshā; cf. A. Stephan, *Das heutige Ägypten*, Leipzig 1872, 181); the *wakīl Dīwān al-Māliyya*; the *rūznāmjī Miṣr*; the *wakīl Ẓabṭiyyat Miṣr*; the *wakīl Majlis al-Isti'nāf Miṣr*; the *wakīl Dīwān al-Awqāf*; the *wakīl Muḥāfaẓat Miṣr*; the *wakīl shimāl Miṣr*; the *wakīl Dā'irat al-Khāṣṣa*; the *wakīl Dā'irat al-Saniyya*; and the *wakīl al-rūznāmjī*.

In addition, the *qāḍī* of Cairo (i.e. the supreme judge in Egypt appointed by the Porte, who was 'Abd al-Raḥmān Efendī Nāfiẓ at that time; cf. P.R.O., F.O. 141/669, file 8126); the *ra'is Majlis al-Aḥkām* (i.e. the Cairene court judging in matters which had been codified by *Qānūn*; cf. Stephan, 288f.); and the following members of this

and to attend the celebrations of which the official part was concluded by fireworks at government expense.[133]

j. *Additional mawālid and other celebrations organized and supervised by al-Bakrī*

In addition to the celebrations of the *mawlid al-nabī*, which were largely organized by and revolved around al-Bakrī, he also organized the *mawālid* of *al-sāda al-Bakriyya*, near al-Imām al-Shāfiʿī and of ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Dashṭūṭī.[134] This obligation was met in his capacity of *nāẓir* of the *awqāf* made to both.[135] Before the beginning of these *mawālid*, al-Bakrī would request the *Muḥāfaẓa* to issue the *firmān al-mawlid*,[136] which on these occasions was not read in public by the chief of police, and merely seems to have been the official permission to hold these *mawālid*.

The celebrations of the *mawlid* of al-Dashṭūṭī lasted from 20 to 27 *Rajab*. The last night coincided with the night of the *miʿrāj*, the celebrations of which, in Cairo, took place in particular round the mosque of al-Dashṭūṭī.[137] On the occasion of the *mawlid* and particularly

Majlis were invited: Ibrāhīm Bek Adham (later *mudir* of al-Sharqiyya and, at another time, of al-Gharbiyya provinces; cf. *Khiṭ.*, ix, 91; and W. S. Blunt, *Gordon at Khartoum*, London 1912, 324f., 553ff. for biographical data); Muḥammad Abū 'l-Fayḍ Bek; Muḥammad Mukhtār Bek (he was a member of the later Commission of Investigation which had to collect the evidence in preparation for the trial against the participants in the 'Urābī insurrection; cf. A. M. Broadley, *How we defended Arabi and his Friends*, London 1884, 155); Muḥammad Bek al-Minyāwī; Jalāl Bāshā; Nūbār Bāshā; ʿĀrif Bāshā; Shākir Bāshā; and Aḥmad Bāshā al-Daramahlī (the later Cairo chief of police; cf. Salīm al-Naqqāsh, *Miṣr li'l-Miṣriyyīn*, Alexandria 1884, iv, 241).

Most of the merchants who were invited, were members of the *Majlis al-Tujjār*; (cf. Sāmī, *Taqwīm*, ii/3, 686). These were Yūsuf ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ (*sartujjār Miṣr*); Muḥammad Maḥmūd al-ʿAṭṭār; Maḥmūd ʿAbd al-Muʿṭī; Ḥasan Āghā (*shaykh Khān al-Khalīlī*); Ismāʿīl Efendī Ṣāliḥ; Muḥammad al-Najjār al-Khuḍarī; Ḥāfiẓ Efendī; Bakīr Efendī; ʿAbd al-Salām al-Muwayliḥī; Ibrāhīm Efendī al-Muwayliḥī (cf. Ibrahim El Mouelhy, 'Ibrahim El Mouelhy Pasha — Les Mouelhy en Égypte', *Cahiers d'Histoire Égyptienne*, ii (1949), 313-329); Muḥammad al-Bābilī al-Jawāhirjī; Amīn al-Jawāhirjī; Ibrāhīm Fārisī al-Jawāhirjī; Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ al-Jawāhirjī; Muḥammad Ḥasan.

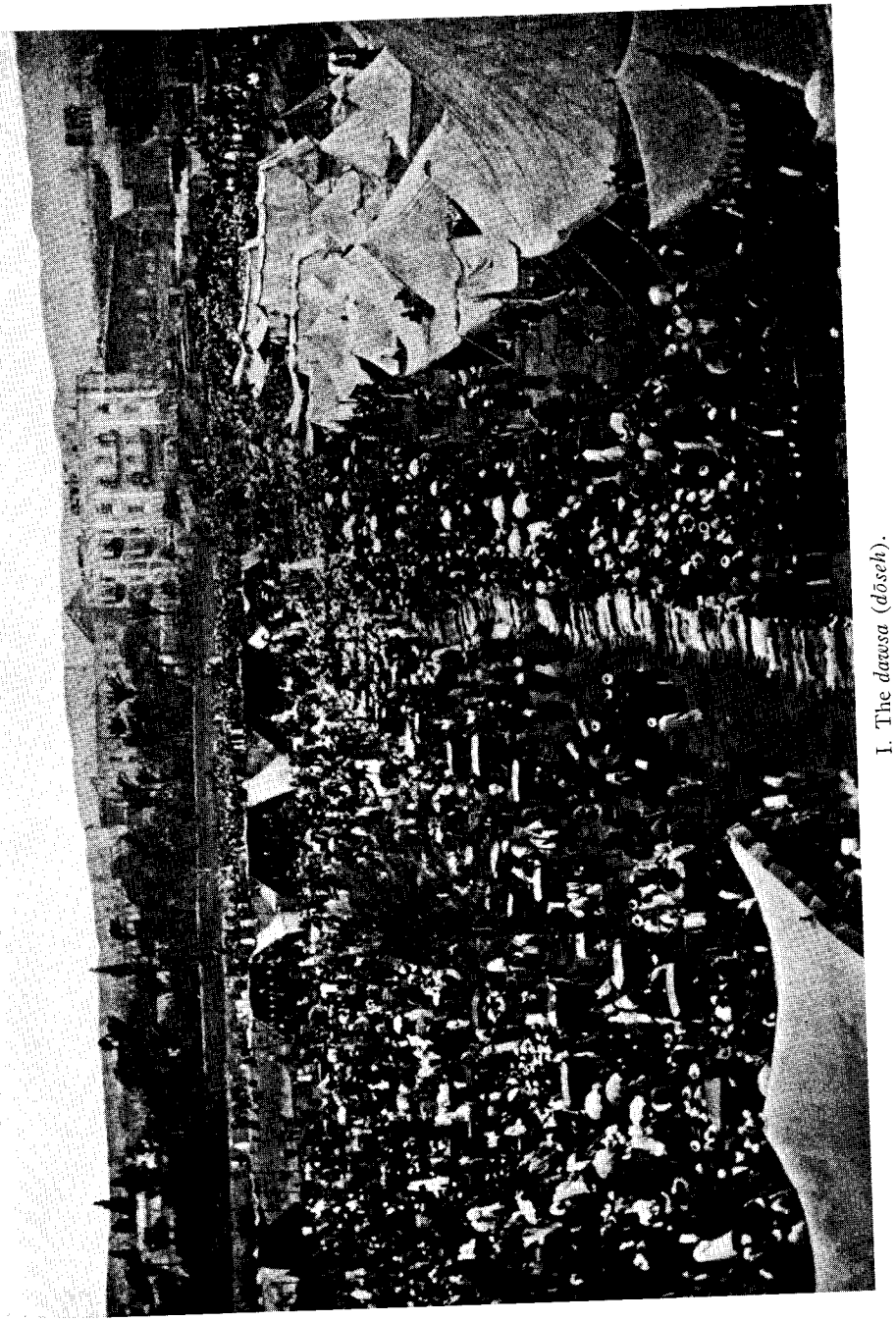
[133] In addition to *Khiṭ.*, iii, 133 see Shafīq, i, 77f. for an account of the celebrations in the seventies.

[134] Cf. *Khiṭ.*, iii, 133f.; and *B.S.*, 410.

[135] *Khiṭ.*, *ibid.*; I-44/8 (7 Qaʿda 1287). For documents relative to the *awqāf al-Bakriyya* see DWQ, *daftar* 98, *ḥ* 2 (Maʿiyya ʿArabī), p. 454, *mus.* 507 (17 Rab. I 1269); DWQ, *daftar* 1883 (*awāmir*), p. 163, *mus.* 101 (16 Rab. II 1272), and *daftar* 42 (Majlis Khuṣūṣī) p. 38, *mus.* 274 (12 Jum. II 1292).

[136] I-31/3 (17 Raj. 1287); I-34/7 (8 Shaw. 1287).

[137] Cf. Lane, 474ff.; *Khiṭ.*, iii, 133f. For the popular explanation of this fact see Lane, 474f.



1. The *dawsa* (*dōseh*).

on the day of the 26th of *Rajab*, when the Sa'diyya held their *dawsa*,[138] and the night of the 27th, the *laylat al-mi'rāj* proper, al-Bakrī entertained numerous guests.[139] The *mawlid* of *al-sāda al-Bakrīyya* lasted for six days near the beginning of *Sha'bān*.[140] The majority of the heads of the *ṭuruq* in Cairo, with their followers and the heads of the *takāyā* and the shrines, were invited, together with numerous *'ulamā'* and government officials and merchants.[141] This was also the case with the celebrations of the *'īd al-aḍḥā* held near the shrines of *al-sāda al-Bakriyya*.[142]

Other celebrations supervised by al-Bakrī and to which these guests used to be invited, were held on the occasion of the *laylat niṣf Sha'bān*[143] and in commemoration of Muḥammad 'Alī's birthday during the night of 13 and 14 *Ramaḍān*.[144] On both occasions the main site of the

[138] D. B. Macdonald in his article 'Dawsa (Dōsa),' in *E.I.*², ii, 181, writes "a similar ceremony was performed by the *shaykh* al-Bakrī ... on the *mawlid* of al-Dashṭūṭī by night". This statement, however, is confirmed neither by the sources nor by oral tradition.

[139] The guests invited on this occasion were largely the same persons invited for the *mawlid al-nabī*.

[140] On this occasion al-Bakrī used to receive an annual payment from the *Dīwān 'Umūm al-Awqāf*; cf. II-26/5 (17 Ram. 1289); V-16(23)/2 (10 Ram. 1296); V-41(21)/6 (11 Ram. 1297).

[141] Cf. *Khiṭ.*, iii, 134. For lists of guests invited see note 132.

[142] I-47/2 (3 Ḥijja 1287). According to 'Alī Mubārak, *Khiṭ.*, iv, 134, banquets were held near the shrines of *al-sāda al-Bakriyya* on 25 Ramaḍān and 10 Muḥarram. The documents in the Leiden collection do not contain any information about these occasions.

[143] See e.g. I-36/1 (11 Shaw. 1287).

[144] *Khiṭ.*, v, 86. The *Dīwān al-Awqāf* contributed to the expenses of this occasion and this contribution was paid to al-Bakrī; cf. I-38/3 (15 Ram. 1287). Some of the heads of the *ṭuruq* and their members received a fee (*ujra*) for their part in the celebrations. These persons and the fees they received are listed in V-45(6)/3 (11 Ram. 1287) as follows:

al-Rifā'iyya (i.e. the head of the *ṭarīqa*), for two nights	150 *qirsh*
18 *dhākira* (participants in the *dhikr* of al-Rifā'iyya?)	20 *qirsh* each
21 *munshids* (singers)	25 *qirsh* each
21 (members of) al-Sa'diyya	*id.*
21 (members of) al-Bayyūmiyya	*id.*
21 (members of) al-Qādiriyya	*id.*
21 (members of) al-Mawlawiyya	*id.*
al-Shādhiliyya (Ḥasan al-Jawharī ?) for two nights	150 *qirsh*
14 (members of) al-Shādhiliyya	20 *qirsh* each

In commemoration of the birthday of Muḥammad 'Alī celebrations were also held in the *zāwiya* of *al-sāda al-Bakriyya* near al-Imām al-Shāfi'ī. Here as well, the *Dīwān al-Awqāf* contributed to the expenses and made 15 *raṭl* of oil available to light (more) lamps in the *zāwiya*; cf. V-45(6)/4 (11 Ram. 1287). In addition, as listed in this document,

celebrations was the mosque of Muḥammad ʿAlī at the citadel.[145]

Those in charge of the numerous shrines and shrine-mosques[146] in Cairo also had to obtain a *firmān mawlid* from the governor before they could start to celebrate the *mawlid* of the saint whose shrine they controlled. In order to obtain this document, which was merely a formal permission, the incumbent had to address himself to al-Bakrī and ask him to present a request to this effect to the Governorate.[147] This arrangement allowed al-Bakrī periodically to check the legitimacy of a large number of intendants of shrines.[148]

The expenses involved for the intendants of the shrines in the celebration of these *mawālid* were partly covered by *waqf* revenues received by them and payments from *al-Rūznāma*.[149] The celebration of a number of *mawālid*,[150] however, was traditionally paid for entirely by the *Dāʾirat al-Khidīwiyya*.[151] Incidental payments were sometimes

the *Dīwān* paid on this occasion
to a *shaykh* (in charge of the celebrations) 150 *qirsh* for two nights (13 & 14 Ram.),
to 5 *fuqahāʾ* (probably Qurʾān readers are meant here) 30 *qirsh* (13 & 14 Ram.),
to 2 *munshids* 25 *qirsh*
to 15 *dhākira* 20 *qirsh*

An idea of the value of these amounts may be obtained when they are compared with the monthly salaries paid in 1288 to a number of teachers at *Dār al-ʿUlūm*, who were qualified religious scholars, mentioned in note 118.

[145] The festival of the *rukūbat al-Nīl*, i.e. the Nile procession on the eve of the cutting of the dam of the Cairo canal, which was celebrated until 1896 when the canal was filled in, was organized by the authorities, in particular the *Dīwān al-Injāriyya*. In this festival a number of guilds used to be prominent but not the *ṭuruq*; cf. Baer, *Guilds*, 121f. Al-Bakrī used to be among the notables invited to attend the celebrations; cf. IV-28(19)/2 (11 Jum. I 1291). In this last document the term *mihrajān jabr al-Nīl* is used; cf. Deny, *Sommaire*, 140 for alternative terms.

[146] Mubārak shrines gives the number of shrines in Cairo as 294; cf. *Khiṭ.*, i, 89.

[147] For copies of such requests see I-71/2 (6 Raj. 1288); V-11(18)/2 (21 Raj. 1296); V-31(11)/3 (20 Rab. II 1297); V-31(11)/4 (20 Rab. II 1297).

Before the era in which the *shaykh al-sajjāda al-Bakriyya* had come to assume this mediating position, a *firmān mawlid* used to be issued by the *Bāshā* directly to those concerned, at least for the *mawālid* held in Cairo. As soon as the *firmān*, which mentioned the period for which the *mawlid* had been permitted, was issued, it was read by policemen in the various *aswāq* of the capital; cf. *ʿAjāʾib*, iv, 163.

[148] Eighty *mawālid* were celebrated in Cairo yearly; cf. *Khiṭ.*, i, 90.

[149] Cf. DWQ, *daftar* 52 (Majlis Khuṣūṣī), p. 52, *mus.* 4 (27 Ṣaf. 1293).

[150] For accounts of *mawlid* celebrations in early 19th century Cairo, see Lane, 462ff., 468ff., 476ff., and E. Gellion-Dangler, *Lettres sur l'Égypte Contemporaine* (1865-1875), Paris 1876, 81ff., for vivid accounts of the *mawlid* celebrations of al-Bayyūmī and al-Rifāʿī in the second half of the 19th century.

[151] In V-31(11)/1 (20 Rab. II 1297) the *mawālid* in honour of the following saints are mentioned as having been paid for by the *Dāʾirat al-Khidīwiyya* (or *Saniyya*, i.e. by the khedive from the revenues of his personal estates. On the nature, extent and revenues of these estates, see e.g. J. C. McCoan, *Egypt as it is*, London n.d. (1877),

made from this source to the intendants of the shrines as a contribution to the expenses involved in the celebrations.[152] In order to allow *ṭuruq* to participate in and contribute to the *mawālid* and other celebrations, their heads received yearly payments from the state treasury[153] as well as revenues from *awqāf* established for this purpose.[154]

k. *The processions of the kiswa, the maḥmal and the laylat al-ruʾya*

Other occasions on which the *ṭuruq* came together in public and which, to a large extent, were enhanced by their presence, were the procession of the *kiswa* in the middle of *Shawwāl* and the procession of the *maḥmal* on the occasion of the departure of the *ḥajj* caravan to Mecca about three weeks later.[155] On both occasions al-Bakrī played a major rôle in the organization of these events.[156] The sequence of the various *ṭuruq* in these processions occasionally led to disputes between their members. It was therefore imperative to draw up a definite and binding set of rules for these events, and this was done by a convention of heads of the *ṭuruq* presided over by al-Bakrī in *Shawwāl* 1289 (December 1872).[157]

150ff.): al-ashrāf al-ʿAlawiyya (i.e. al-sādāt al-Wafāʾiyya); Muḥammad al-Anwar; al-Sayyida Sakīna; al-Sayyida Nafīsa; al-Imām al-Shāfiʿī; al-Imām Layth b. Saʿd; al-Sulṭān al-Ḥanafī; al-Sayyida Zaynab; Ismāʿīl al-Imbābī; Sīdī Marzūq; ʿAlī Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn; ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Dīrīnī; al-Shaykh ʿAbd Allāh; al-Sayyida Ruqayya; and Muḥammad al-Nuʿmān.

[152] DWQ, *daftar* 533 (Maʿiyya Turkī), p. 336, *mus.* 22 (29 Shaʿbān 1280), and *idem*, p. 138, *mus.* 956 (25 Ṣaf. 1280).

[153] DWQ, *daftar* 1884 (*awāmir*), p. 44, *mus.* 154 (18 Jum. II 1272) for instance, gives the amount of 3000 *qirsh* paid to heads of *ṭuruq* in order to celebrate the *mawlid al-nabī* and mentions other unspecified amounts paid to them "*fī ʾl-mawāsim wa ʾl-aʿyād*". Since there were at least twenty *mashāyikh ṭuruq* at that time (cf. the list on p. 36f.) each of them must have received around 150 *qirsh*. The relative size of this amount may be put into perspective when compared with, for instance, the monthly salary of an "intellectual" occupation like the corrector at the Government Printing Press in Būlāq, which was at that time 450 *qirsh*; cf. Sāmī, *Taqwīm*, i/3, 159.

[154] WA, no. 1180 (18 Ram. 1251) and WA, no. 1112 (9 Raj. 1266).

[155] See e.g. I-41 (26 Ram. 1287); III-8/6 (1 Rab. I 1290).

[156] For a survey of these celebrations from 1517 up to 1952 see J. Jomier, *Le Mahmal et la Caravane Égyptienne des Pèlerins de la Mecque (XIII-XX^e siècles)*, Cairo 1953, 62ff. On the night preceding the procession in which the *kiswa* was paraded through Cairo, celebrations took place in the Dīwān al-Muḥāfaẓa, consisting, among other things, of Qurʾān recitation and the reading of al-Jazūlī's *Dalāʾil al-Khayrāt* and al-Shādhilī's *Ḥizb al-Barr*; cf. I-83 (7 Shaw. 1288). In the beginning of the present century these celebrations were held in the Dār al-Kiswa; cf. Jomier, 66.

[157] Cf. II-30/3 (14 Shaw. 1289). The order (*tartīb*) agreed upon was: al-Saʿdiyya in front of the procession followed by al-Qādiriyya, al-Burhāmiyya, al-Ḥumūdiyya,

In addition, groups of *ṭarīqa* members used to participate in the processions on the occasion of the *laylat al-ru'ya*[158] and the return of the *maḥmal*[159] which were both dominated by the guilds. The former procession was supervised by the *muḥtasib*, who was also the most eminent official to take part in it until the seventies, when he was replaced by the chief of the Cairo police.[160]

Al-Bakrī played no part in organizing any of these events. From 1290 (1873) onwards, however, following a request from the Cairo municipality, the *ṭuruq*, supervised and co-ordinated by al-Bakrī, started to participate in the procession on the occasion of the return of the *maḥmal*.[161] This relative increase in the importance of the ceremonial rôle of the *ṭuruq* does not seem to have been confined to this occasion only. Their importance also increased in the procession of the *kiswa* and the procession held on the departure of the *maḥmal*, in both of which nothing remained of the former prominence of the guilds, as is suggested by the absence of any reference to their participation in these ceremonies.[162] Nor were heads or prominent members of guilds invited by al-Bakrī to attend the various celebrations organized and supervised by him, except for the representatives of the merchant guilds who were members of the *Majlis al-Tujjār*.[163]

This decline of the rôle of the guilds in public ceremonies mirrors the general decline of the guilds themselves from the seventies onwards.[164] It left the *ṭuruq* as the principal forms of association at a time when other voluntary associations of a social, religious or

al-Tasqiyāniyya, al-Zāhidiyya, al-Shu'aybiyya, al-Ḥalabiyya, al-Salāmiyya, al-Imbābiyya, al-Minūfiyya, al-Kannāsiyya, and al-Marzūqiyya at the end, just in front of the *maḥmal*. The head of al-Marzūqiyya had the traditional right to guide the camel carrying the *maḥmal* from the Dār al-Kiswa to the Mīdān Muḥammad 'Alī; cf. Shams al-Dīn, 34.

[158] Cf. Lane, 478f.; Raymond, *Artisans*, ii, 570; Baer, *Guilds*, 120.

[159] Jomier, 67. See also A. de Beaumont, 'Le pèlerinage de la Mekke et les fêtes du Prophète au Caire', *Revue de l'Orient, de l'Algérie et des Colonies*, xvi (1854), 26. However, the flags mentioned by this author as "des drapeaux qui représentent les couleurs des mosqueés", were almost certainly flags carried by members of the various *ṭuruq*, each in its own characteristic colours.

[160] Baer, *Guilds*, 120-21; Raymond, *Artisans*, ii, 570.

[161] IV-18(9)/4 (2 Rab. I 1290).

[162] Cf. Jomier, 62ff.; Baer, *Guilds*, chapter 5, section 7, *passim*. Nowhere in the documents of the series F. Or. A. 283-285 does anything suggest their participation.

For indications of al-Bakrī's commercial contacts with the *mashāyikh* of the guilds, see V-48/4 (3 Muḥ. 1287), with the *shaykh* of the carpenters (*najjārūn*); I-20/4 (11 Rab. II 1287), with the *shaykh* of the pipe-makers (*shubūkshiyya*); V-22(2)/4 (13 Ṣaf. 1297), with the *shaykh* of the butchers (*jazzārūn*).

[163] Cf. note 132.

[164] Cf. Baer, *Guilds*, chapter V.

political character had not yet emerged. Therefore, the decline of the guilds not only seems to account for the increased ceremonial prominence of the *ṭuruq*, but also, to a large extent, for the increase of the number of *ṭuruq* in Egypt in the second half of the 19th century. These *ṭuruq* are dealt with in the following pages.

1. *The ṭuruq involved*

On the occasions dealt with in the preceding section, as well as during the *mawālid*, only the *ṭuruq* were allowed to appear whose heads had recognized al-Bakrī's authority and were appointed by him — implying legality of tenure and thus official recognition of the autonomous status of each of these *ṭuruq*. According to a list drawn up by him for the governor of Cairo at the end of 1872 these were :[165]

Muḥammad al-Shu'aybī	– al-Shu'aybiyya al-Aḥmadiyya
Muṣṭafā al-Naqqāsh	– al-Salāmiyya al-Aḥmadiyya
Ḥasan Salmān	– al-Imbābiyya al-Aḥmadiyya
Muḥammad Khaḍir	– al-Ḥumūdiyya al-Aḥmadiyya
'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Ṭūbī	– al-'Īsawiyya al-Shādhiliyya
Muḥammad Yāsīn	– al-Rifā'iyya
Muḥammad 'Āshūr	– al-Burhāmiyya
Aḥmad al-'Afīfī	– al-'Afīfiyya [al-Shādhiliyya]
Aḥmad al-Minūfī	– al-Manāyifa al-Aḥmadiyya
Muḥammad Shams al-Dīn al-Marzūqī	– al-Marāziqa al-Aḥmadiyya
Muḥammad al-Junaydī	– al-Ḥalabiyya al-Aḥmadiyya
'Aṭā' Maḥmūd	– al-Tasqiyāniyya al-Aḥmadiyya
Aḥmad al-Khuḍarī	– al-Sa'diyya
Sha'rāwī Mu'awwaḍ	– al-Kannāsiyya al-Aḥmadiyya
'Abd al-Ghanī al-Malawānī	– al-Bayyūmiyya al-Aḥmadiyya
Muḥammad Aḥmad Qāsim	– al-Qādiriyya
Muḥsin 'Abd al-Muḥsin	– al-Qādiriyya
'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Suṭūḥī	– al-Suṭūḥiyya [al-Aḥmadiyya]
Muḥammad al-Dīrīnī	– al-Zāhidiyya al-Aḥmadiyya
Muḥammad Jāhīn	– al-Shinnāwiyya al-Aḥmadiyya
Ḥasan al-Sammān	– al-Sammāniyya [al-Khalwatiyya]

[165] II-29/4 (10 Shaw. 1289)/11 December 1872. In this document the names appear in a sequence different from the one given here for the sake of the subsequent discussion.

Ibrāhīm Mubārak	– al-Mīrghaniyya
Aḥmad Ḍayf	– al-Ṣāwiyya [al-Khalwatiyya]
Muḥammad al-Shādhilī al-Ṣāwī	– [al-Ṣāwiyya al-Khalwatiyya]
Muṣṭafa al-Ṣandaqjī	– al-Shādhiliyya
ʿAbd al-Majīd al-Barmūnī	– [al-Qāsimiyya] al-Shādhiliyya
Muḥammad al-Ḥandūsh	– al-Ḥandūshiyya [al-Shādhiliyya]
Muḥammad al-Tihāmī	– al-Tihāmiyya [al-Shādhiliyya]
ʿAbd al-Karīm Manṣūr	– al-ʿArūsiyya [al-Shādhiliyya]

The first five *mashāyikh al-ṭuruq* mentioned in this list had already been in office for over a quarter of a century, from the days of Muḥammad al-Bakrī, while the following eight are known to have inherited their positions from their fathers.[166] In the cases of al-Kannāsiyya and al-Bayyūmiyya, however, their respective heads, Shaʿrānī Muʿawwaḍ and ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Malawānī were neither descended from nor related to their predecessors. Nothing is known about the circumstances which enabled Shaʿrānī Muʿawwaḍ to attain office. ʿAbd al-Ghanī, however, is known to have been chosen as successor to the deceased head of the *ṭarīqa*, Muḥammad Nāfiʿ, by a majority of its members. His final confirmation in office had nevertheless been preceded by a serious conflict about his succession between the various factions within the *ṭarīqa* (see above, p. 34f.).

Muḥammad b. Aḥmad Qāṣim, *shaykh* of one of the two Qādiriyya orders mentioned here, had succeeded his father Aḥmad Qāsim. The latter, in the era of Muḥammad al-Bakrī, had shared the leadership of this *ṭarīqa* with his brother Muḥammad known as al-Fāriḍī, who had held the office of *kātib niqābat al-ashrāf* concomitantly. After al-Fāriḍī's death this office had passed to his son Muḥammad Masʿūd who, in addition, claimed leadership over a Qādiriyya *ṭarīqa* of his own which had been recognized as such by al-Bakrī.[167] When he died in

[166] The fathers of the first six *mashāyikh* of this group are mentioned in the list on page 36f. Of the last two *shaykh*s, ʿAṭāʾ Maḥmūd had succeeded his father Maḥmūd ʿAṭāʾ, the brother and successor of Muḥammad ʿAṭāʾ (Allāh) (see the list on page 36). Aḥmad al-Khuḍarī had succeeded his father Ḥamūda Muḥammad, who had been the successor of Aḥmad Muḥammad Ḥamūda, his half-brother. Aḥmad had been head of the ṭarīqa al-Saʿdiyya in succession to his father Muḥammad (see page 37; cf. al-Khuḍarī, 165ff.).

[167] Since the office of *kātib niqābat al-ashrāf* came directly under the *naqīb al-ashrāf*, it seems probable that the incumbent to this office was appointed or invested by the *shaykh al-sajjāda al-Bakriyya* in his capacity of *naqīb al-ashrāf*; cf. I-41/1 (26 Ram. 1287).

1287 (1870) without leaving any adult children,[168] his cousin and father-in-law, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad Qāsim, took over the administration of this *ṭarīqa*, which amounted to a *de facto* reunification with the parent *ṭarīqa*.[169]

The head of the second Qādiriyya *ṭarīqa* mentioned here, Muḥsin ʿAbd al-Muḥsin, was a nephew of Aḥmad b. Qāsim al-Qādirī, the first *shaykh* who did not belong to the Jīzī family and held the office of *kātib niqābat al-ashrāf* together with the *mashyakhat al-Qādiriyya* (see above p. 17). Muḥsin's father, ʿAbd al-Muḥsin Sulaymān, had been the first of this family to hold the office of *shaykh khidmat al-Imāmayn*, i.e. the office of supreme intendant of the shrine-mosques of al-Imām Layth b. Saʿd and of al-Imām al-Shāfiʿī.[170] This *shaykh* had also set himself up as head of his own Qādiriyya *ṭarīqa*. His son Muḥsin, who succeeded him, was appointed by al-Bakrī as *shaykh* of this *ṭarīqa*[171] which, if it survived him, had become redundant at the beginning of the 20th century.[172]

Al-Suṭūḥiyya, in the above list, had been active in Cairo since the end of the 17th century at least.[173] Its leaders, however, had always resided in Minshāt Sulṭān in al-Minūfiyya province, at the shrine of the founder of the *ṭarīqa*, Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Suṭūḥī. According to the *ṭarīqa*'s oral tradition, intensive proselytizing by ʿĀmir al-Suṭūḥī, a *shaykh* of the *ṭarīqa* during the first half of the 19th century, increased its membership as well as the social status of

[168] Cf. I-45/3 (11 Qaʿda 1287).

[169] When his heir had grown up, control was not regained until after a dispute discussed in chapter IV.

[170] Oral information from ʿAbd al Qādir al-Qādirī, the present *shaykh al-sajjāda al-Qādiriyya al-Qāsimiyya* in Egypt; see chapter IV, note 19.

A distinction is made between a *khādim ḍarīḥ*, i.e. the intendant to a shrine to which no additional officials were attached, and the *shaykh khidmat ḍarīḥ*, being the intendant of a shrine to which a staff was attached under his supervision. The *Laʾiḥat al-Nuḍhūrāt* (p. 7) of 1898 defines *shaykh khidmat ḍarīḥ* as "he who has daily supervision over all those employed at a shrine (-mosque) and over their work"; cf. note 98 for the various officials who could be attached to these establishments. To denote all the officials employed at a shrine (-mosque) the term *al-khidma* is used as a collective noun; cf. II-1/3 (8 Muḥ. 1289). Moreover, the term refers to the free distribution of food at a shrine (-mosque) or during a *mawlid*.

[171] For a graphical representation of the various family relationships, see below chapter IV, page 130, note 17.

[172] Cf. the list of *ṭuruq* active in Egypt in 1906 in *B.S.*, 381. Even if this Qādiriyya order had not ceased to be active, the fact that it is not mentioned in this list indicates its very insignificance.

[173] Cf. al-Nābulusī, fol. 240ª.

this *shaykh*. An even firmer basis for his *ṭarīqa* leadership was created when he moved to Cairo and succeeded in obtaining control over the mosque and shrine of Faraj al-Suṭūḥī,[174] a saint of this *ṭarīqa*.[175] The fact that ʿĀmir's son and successor, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, figures among the heads of the *ṭuruq* who had recognized al-Bakrī's authority, shows that this *ṭarīqa*, under a unified leadership, had achieved an expansion which made it imperative for its head to recognize al-Bakrī's authority if it was to share in the benefits of right of *qadam* implied by it, in order to maintain its membership in the countryside.

In the case of al-Zāhidiyya, no indication exists that it was active before the middle of the 19th century, when Muḥammad Sulaymān al-Dīrīnī obtained control over the shrine of Aḥmad al-Zāhid in the Sūq al-Zalaṭ near Bāb al-Shaʿriyya.[176] The fact that its *shaykh* figures among the *mashāyikh al-ṭuruq* suggests that round about 1870 it must have had considerable membership. Only this would give sufficient justification for al-Bakrī to give this *shaykh* official status as *shaykh ṭarīqa* instead of continuing to consider him merely as intendant of a shrine. Moreover, for the head of this *ṭarīqa* only the size of membership would make official recognition imperative in order to obtain the benefits of right of *qadam*.

An exceptional arrangement, whose genesis is unknown, existed for the leadership of al-Shinnāwiyya, since the head of this *ṭarīqa*, Muḥammad Jāhīn mentioned in the above list, was recognized as such for Cairo only.[177] As head of al-Shinnāwiyya in al-Minūfiyya province, however, another independent *shaykh*, ʿUmar al-Shinnāwī, member of the Shinnāwī family, had become recognized.[178] A competitive relationship appears to have existed between the two, aggravated by the fact that no agreement existed about rights of *qadam* between the *khulafāʾ* of both *shaykh*s in al-Minūfiyya province.[179]

[174] This mosque is at present known as Jāmiʿ al-Ḥifnī; cf. al-Sakhāwī, 86, ʿAlī Mubārak does not mention the presence of the shrine; cf. *Khiṭ.*, iv, 99.

[175] For information about the early phase in the history of al-Suṭūḥiyya I am obliged to Muḥammad Baḥbaḥ al-Suṭūḥī, the present-day head of this *ṭarīqa* and the *shaykh mashāyikh al-ṭuruq al-ṣūfiyya*. He had the kindness to show me the document, dated 12 Dhū 'l-Qaʿda 1271, which made his forefather *nāẓir* of the mosque and shrine of Faraj al-Suṭūḥī and of *awqāf* established in its favour. The administration of these *awqāf* had been taken over by the *Dīwān al-Awqāf* in the 1880's; cf. *Khiṭ.*, iv, 99.

[176] For his biography, see Shaʿrānī, ii, 81ff.

[177] See I-18/2 (28 Rab. I 1287).

[178] See I-28/8 (27 Jum. II 1287).

[179] *Ibid.*

For an important section of al-Sammāniyya in Egypt, the intendant of the shrine of its founder's son, Ḥammad al-ʿIbādī, in the cemetery of al-Imām al-Shāfiʿī, had come to be considered as the principal *khalīfa* of the *ṭarīqa*. The first of these intendants who were appointed by al-Bakrī as head of this *ṭarīqa* seems to have been Ḥasan al-Sammān, mentioned in the above list. The latter, whose full name was Muḥammad Ḥasan, was a descendant of the *ṭarīqa*'s founder and a son of the supreme head of the *ṭarīqa*, Abū 'l-Ḥasan al-Sammān,[180] who resided in the *zāwiyat al-Sammāniyya* in Madina.[181] This factor would most probably have been taken into consideration by al-Bakrī when he confirmed Ḥasan as the *ṭarīqa*'s supreme head for Egypt. His authority was disputed, however, by other *khulafāʾ*.[182] Therefore only a fraction of the *ṭarīqa*'s membership must have recognized the suzerainty of the intendant of Ḥammad's shrine over them.

Representatives of al-Mīrghaniyya had already found their way into Egypt during the lifetime of its founder, Muḥammad ʿUthmān (d. 1268 : 1851).[183] In Alexandria in particular an active community had emerged and groups had become active in other cities also.[184] Some of the *ṭarīqa*'s teachings were of a highly controversial nature, however, and induced the Mālikī *muftī* Muḥammad ʿIllaysh to issue a *fatwā* in which Muḥammad ʿUthmān's teachings were condemned as *kufr*.[185] ʿIllaysh, however, was head of a *ṭarīqa* himself[186] and it seems likely that the promulgation of this *fatwā* was at least partly inspired by the desire to check the spread of a competing *ṭarīqa*, rather

[180] Cf. Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Sammān, *Risālat al-Nafaḥāt al-Ilāhiyya fī Kayfiyyat Sulūk al-Ṭarīqa al-Muḥammadiyya*, Cairo 1326, 73.

[181] Cf. Nūr al-Dāʾim al-Ṭayyibī, *Al-Kuʾūs al-Mutraʿa fī Manāqib al-Sāda al-Arbaʿa*, Cairo 1959, 51f. for the descendants of Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Sammān, who were the heads of the *ṭarīqa* resident in Madina.

[182] E.g. by Rifāʿī b. ʿAṭāʾ Allāh, a *khalīfa* of the *ṭarīqa* who obtained some pre-eminence among the Sammāniyya *khulafāʾ*, sanctioned by ʿAlī al-Bakrī; cf. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥājj Muḥammad al-Kūhin, *Al-Ṭabaqāt al-Shādhiliyya al-Kubrā*, Cairo 1347, 107ff. There is no evidence, however, that he was ever confirmed as *shaykh al-Sammāniyya* in Egypt, and he certainly never held authority over all the *ṭuruq* as contended by al-Kūhin.

[183] Cf. Le Chatelier, *Confréries*, 234.

[184] Cf. I-19/3 (1 Rab. II 1287); I-20/8 (13 Rab. II 1287).

[185] Cf. F. Or. A. 284, V/23-28 (Report on the *ṭuruq* in the Sudan), fol. 2. ʿIllaysh's charges of *kufr* were based upon a pamphlet which had been written and was distributed by al-Mīrghanī in which he stated among other things that he was the last of the *awliyāʾ*, that the expected *mahdī* would come from his family, and that it was better to mention his name 12,000 times than to mention the *ism al-jalāla*; cf. *ibid.*

[186] This was al-ʿArabiyya al-Shādhiliyya. See above p. 27f. and below p. 113f.

than the desire to purify. Notwithstanding this opposition, the *ṭarīqa* spread and its *khalīfa* for Cairo, Ibrāhīm Mubārak was appointed by al-Bakrī as its supreme head.[187]

Al-Ṣāwiyya, a Khalwatiyya order with its centre in Mecca, founded by Aḥmad al-Ṣāwī (d. 1241 : 1825), had been propagated in Egypt by various *khulafā'*.[188] After the death of the most notable *khalīfa*, Muḥammad al-Qāḍī al-Far'ūnī (d. 1244 : 1828/29) who was also *khādim* of the shrine of al-Sayyida Zaynab,[189] two other *khalīfas* of al-Ṣāwī, Muḥammad al-Shādhilī[190] and Aḥmad Ḍayf became prominent.[191] Aḥmad Ḍayf was the son of Ismā'īl 'Alī Ḍayf (1210-1280 : 1795/96-1863) who had also been a *khalīfa* of al-Ṣāwī but had amended the Ṣāwiyya Way.[192] The distinctiveness this gave to the section of the *ṭarīqa* over which he held authority seems to have increased the membership of this group and therefore enhanced the position of its leader, who was appointed as supreme head of al-Ṣāwiyya, nothwithstanding the fact that he had moved away from al-Ṣāwiyya proper in a direction which would result in the formation of a new and distinct *ṭarīqa*.

The section of al-Ṣāwiyya under the leadership of Muḥammad al-Shādhilī seems not to have deviated from the Ṣāwiyya Way. Muḥammad al-Shādhilī was a grandson of Aḥmad al Ṣāwī : this no doubt contributed to his prominence as a *khalīfa* of the *ṭarīqa* in Egypt and explains why he was appointed as head of an autonomous Ṣāwiyya order, notwithstanding his defective authority over Ṣāwiyya membership in Egypt as a whole.[193]

[187] Cf. IV-3/3 (n.d.; 1288 approx.).

[188] Cf. Ismā'īl 'Abd Allāh al-Maghribī, *Al-Nūr al-Wuḍḍā' fī Manāqib wa Karāmāt 'Umdat al-Awliyā' ... Sīdi Aḥmad al-Ṣāwī*, Cairo 1347, 145ff.

[189] *Ibid.*, 155.

[190] *Ibid.*, 146 for a short biography.

[191] *Ibid.*, 156.

[192] Cf. Aḥmad Ḍayf, *Irshād al-Rafīq li-Aḥkām wa Ādāb al-Ṭarīq*, al-Jīza 1388 (7th ed.) with e.g. the treatise *Tuḥfat al-Ikhwān* (Cairo 1281), by Aḥmad al-Dardayr, whose Way was essentially continued by al-Ṣāwī.

[193] The name of the *ṭarīqa* under the leadership of Muḥammad al-Shādhilī is not mentioned in the document upon which the list on pages 69 and 70 is based (cf. note 165). This could indicate that this *ṭarīqa* had ceased to be referred to officially as al-Ṣāwiyya, presumably in order to reduce potential conflict originating in claims for suzerainty of one head of al-Ṣāwiyya over the other, which was inherent in the existence of two identical *ṭarīqas* with one and the same name. On the solution of such potential conflict in similar cases, see below chapter IV, pages 127-131.

A number of *khulafā'* of al-Ṣāwiyya, in particular in Upper Egypt, do not appear to have had any formal link with either of the two Cairo-based heads. Amongst these were 'Abd al-Bāqī in Kafr 'Ammār and 'Alī al-'Imrānī in al-Rawḍa; cf. al-Maghribī, 148f. See also below p. 123.

The last three *ṭuruq* in the list, as well as al-'Īsawiyya, are all referred to explicitly as *ṭuruq* to which Maghribīs belong.[194] This is not the case, however, with the Shādhiliyya group under Muṣṭafā al-Ṣandaqjī. Therefore one is led to suppose that this *shaykh* headed a group which had mainly Egyptian membership, like the Qāsimiyya branch of al-Shādhiliyya headed by 'Abd al-Majīd al-Barmūnī (d. 1924). In 1288 (1871/72) the latter had succeeded his father, Muḥammad Muṣṭafā who, before his death in that year, had already been among the heads of the *ṭuruq* who recognized al-Bakrī's authority.[195] Within al-Bakrī's administration, however, Muḥammad Muṣṭafā seems to have been dealt with as *shaykh* of a distinct Shādhiliyya *ṭarīqa* only after centralized authority over all the Shādhiliyya *ṭuruq* in Egypt had come to an end some time after the death of Muḥammad Abū 'l-Ma'ālī 'l-Jawharī.[196]

The first mention of the existence of al-Ḥandūshiyya[197] and al-Tihāmiyya in Egypt occurs in the present list. Al-Tihāmiyya had been founded in the beginning of the 18th century by Mawlay al-Tihāmī, who belonged to a Moroccan family of saintly lineage of which other members had founded two notable North African orders, al-Wazzāniyya and al-Ṭayyibiyya.[198] Al-Ḥandūshiyya, like al-'Īsawiyya, was particularly known for its ecstatic practices.[199] It had been founded

[194] I.e. by the epithet Maghāriba : al-'Īsawiyya al-Maghāriba; al-Ḥandūshiyya al-Maghāriba; al-Tihāmiyya al-Maghāriba. Al-Jabartī also mentions al-'Īsawiyya explicitly as a group of Maghāriba; cf. *'Ajā'ib*, iii, 39, as does Lane, 466.

[195] See I-85/2 (8 Qa'da 1288); I-76/8 (28 Raj. 1288); I-79/7 (23 Sha'bān 1288).

[196] The way in which this arrangement had come to an end is not known. Until 1269 at least, he had been active as a *ṭarīqa* head; cf. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Shu'aybī, *Majmū'a Mushtamila 'alā Aḥzāb wa Awrād wa Nubadh Laṭīfa wa 'l-Maḥyā al-Shu'aybiyya al-Aḥmadiyya*, Cairo 1322, 24. See also chapter I, note 98. I have not been able to establish the year of his death. It must have been, however, between 1273 (1856/7), in which year he established a *waqf* (cf. *Khiṭ.*, iv, 77) and before 1287 (1870), since he does not figure in the lists of guests invited by al-Bakrī to attend various celebrations, contained in the series F. Or. A. 283.

[197] Also spelt Ḥamdūshiyya. Adherents are collectively referred to as Ḥamādisha or Ḥanādisha (or by the colloquialized forms Ḥanadsha, Ḥamadsha); cf. V. Crapanzano, *The Ḥamadsha. A Study in Moroccan Ethnopsychiatry*, Berkeley 1973, 2.

[198] See Trimingham, *Sufi Orders*, 276; G. Draques, *Esquisse d'histoire religieuse du Maroc : confréries et zaouias*, Paris n.d., 277ff.; and O. Depont & X. Coppolani, *Les Confréries religieuses Musulmanes*, Alger 1897, 484ff. Al-Ṭayyibiyya takes its name from Mawlay al-Ṭayyib (d. 1181 : 1767) and al-Wazzāniyya from 'Abd Allāh al-Sharīf al-Wazzānī (d. 1089 : 1678). For short biographies, see e.g. Muḥammad al-'Arabī b. al-Sā'iḥ al-Ribāṭī, *Bughyat al-Mustafīd li-Sharḥ Munyat al-Murīd*; Alexandria n.d., 205ff.

[199] Cf. Shafīq, i, 77.

in Morocco by ʿAlī ibn Ḥandūsh (d. 1131 : 1718/19 approximately) and had its main centre near his shrine in the village of Banī Rashīd in the Jabal Zarhūn, near Meknes.[200] The early history of these orders in Egypt, as well as the circumstances which allowed Muḥammad al-Ḥandūsh and Muḥammad al-Tihāmī to obtain pre-eminence within their respective orders, are obscure.

More is known about the history of al-ʿArūsiyya in Egypt.[201] A certain Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Khalīfa known as al-Ḥājj Ḥamūda b. Khalīfat al-Tājūr, a Libyan residing in Alexandria, had been the principal propagator and *khalīfa* of this *ṭarīqa*, which had been founded by Aḥmad ibn ʿArūs (d. 868 : 1463).[202] Originally ʿAbd al-Karīm Manṣūr had been one of Ḥamūda's *khulafāʾ* in Cairo. However, he had detached himself from his *shaykh* and obtained a new *ijāza* from a certain ʿAbd ad-Salām Baḥīḥ, a *khalīfa* of the order in Tripolitania.[203] Once back in Cairo he consolidated and expanded his following, which gave him pre-eminence over the other *khulafāʾ* of the *ṭarīqa*. This pre-eminence was officially confirmed when he was appointed supreme head of al-ʿArūsiyya by al-Bakrī.

Unique among the *ṭuruq* in Egypt was the position of al-Wafāʾiyya, not mentioned in the above list. In 1289 (1872) its leader and *shaykh al-sajjāda* was Aḥmad ʿAbd al-Khāliq al-Sādāt who had held the office following the death of his father Aḥmad Abū 'l-Naṣr in 1280 (1864).[204] The leader of this group, which had an ambivalent character since it was the corporation of descendants of al-Imām ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib, i.e. a family group, as well as a *ṭarīqa*,[205] had not been made

[200] Crapanzano, *passim*.

[201] A primary source for the history of this *ṭarīqa* and its branches is Ibrāhīm Muḥammad al-Dawyātī, *Taʿrīf ʿan Ṭariqat al-Shaykh al-ʿĀrif bi 'llāh Sīdī ʿAbd al-Salām b. Salīm al-Asmar*, Alexandria n.d. (mimeographed).

[202] For a discussion of the historicity of Aḥmad b. ʿArūs see Ibrāhīm Muḥammad al-Faḥḥām, 'Ibn ʿArūs wa 'l-Ṭarīqa al-ʿArūsiyya', *Al Funūn al-Shaʿbiyya*, iv/15 (Dec. 1970), 64-72. For a biography, see Isḥāq Ibrāhīm al-Mulayjī, *ʿAlā Hāmish Ḥayāt Sīdī ʿAbd al-Salām al-Asmar*, Tripoli (Libya) 1969, 16ff. About this *ṭarīqa*, see Karīm al-Dīn al-Barmūnī, *Tanqiḥ Rawḍat al-Azhār wa Munyat al-Sādāt al-Abrār fī Manāqib Sīdī ʿAbd al-Salām al-Asmar*, Tunis 1325(?), 91ff.

[203] al-Dawyātī, *passim*.

[204] Cf. Muḥammad Tawfīq al-Bakrī, *Bayt al-Sādāt al-Wafāʾiyya*, Cairo n.d., 8f.; Zakhūrā, i, 185ff. Documents relative to the succession are: DWQ, *daftar* 1907 (*awāmir*), p. 117, *mus.* 17 (25 Ram. 1280); *idem*, *daftar* 539 (Maʿiyya Turkī), p. 104, *mus.* 13 (10 Muḥ. 1281); *idem*, p. 105, *mus.* 235 (15 Muḥ. 1281).

[205] Particular to al-Wafāʾiyya there was, in addition to the celebrations of a number of distinct *mawālid* (cf. al-Bakrī, *Bayt al-Sādāt al-Wafāʾiyya*, 67), a ceremony held during the night of the 27th of Ramaḍān, known as *al-takniyya*, when a *kunyā* (surname) was given by the *shaykh al-sajjāda* to those who desired it for the sake of *baraka*; cf. Shafīq, i, 79, and al-Bakrī, *ibid.*, 68f. For the justification of this practice as *sunna*, see al-Bakrī, *ibid.*, 69ff.

subject to al-Bakrī's authority by the *firmān* of 1812. Like al-Bakrī and unlike any other *ṭarīqa* leader, the *shaykh* of this group continued to obtain legality through appointment by khedivial decree[206] and when al-Bakrī's administration developed, he continued to maintain his traditional autonomy. Moreover, he appointed his own *khulafāʾ* and *nuwwāb* without recourse to al-Bakrī in any way whatsoever. Notwithstanding this, the *ṭarīqa*'s right of *qadam* in certain areas was recognized and when violations occurred they were dealt with, as would normally be the case whenever this principle was infringed.[207]

The other groups which fell outside al-Bakrī's sphere of jurisdiction as defined by the *firmān* of 1812 and the agreement with al-Azhar of 1847, were al-ʿInāniyya and al-Khuḍayriyya, which had not been granted a similar position. Therefore, the most plausible explanation for the singular arrangement as it existed in the case of al-Wafāʾiyya, seems to be that it could be obtained and maintained owing to the pre-eminent rôle in Egyptian society — in many respects equal to al-Bakrī's — which was played by the *shaykh al-sajjāda al-Wafāʾiyya*. Both dignitaries were also among the members of the *Majlis al-Mashwara* installed by Muḥammad ʿAlī in 1829,[208] of *al-Majlis al-Khuṣūṣī* installed by the khedive ʿAbbās in Rabīʿ II 1265 (February 1849),[209] as well as of other consultative, judiciary and representative bodies installed by Egyptian rulers, such as the *Majlis al-Aḥkām*.[210]

m. *Al-Bakrī's administration and the ṭakāyā*

Among the *ṭuruq* which had no active communities outside Cairo were al-Mawlawiyya, al-Gulshaniyya[211] and al-Bektāshiyya. Each of

[206] After the death of Aḥmad Abū 'l-Naṣr al-Sādāt, however, al-Bakrī was asked, as were the *muftī al-Ḥanafiyya* and the *shaykh al-Azhar*, to testify about the fitness of his son Aḥmad ʿAbd al-Khāliq as his successor; cf. DWQ, *daftar* 539 (Maʿiyya Turkī), p. 104, *mus.* (10 Muḥ. 1281).

[207] I-45/3 (8 Qaʿda 1287); I-46/4 (28 Qaʿda 1287).

[208] Cf. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Rāfiʿī, *ʿAṣr Muḥammad ʿAlī*, Cairo 1930, 573; Sāmī, *Taqwīm al-Nīl*, ii, 350.

[209] In this body, membership alternated between *al-shaykh al-sādāt* and al-Bakrī; cf. Sāmī, *Taqwīm*, i/3; 18. For the various periods it was operative see Deny, *Sommaire*, 120f. See also ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Rāfiʿī, *ʿAṣr Ismāʿīl*, Cairo 1937, i, 47; ii, 281.

[210] Cf. Zakhūrā, i, 187, and al-Bakrī, *Bayt al-Sādāt al-Wafāʾiyya*, 10, for Aḥmad ʿAbd al-Khāliq's membership of these bodies. For references to Aḥmad Abū 'l-Naṣr's appointment as member of the *majlis al-aḥkām* see the document referred to in note 206. For the periods when this body was operative cf. Deny, *Sommaire*, 123f.

[211] Al-Gulshaniyya also had a *takīya* in Būlāq at the end of the 17th century;

these had a *ṭakīya* which was the centre of its activities. The heads of these establishments were, at the same time, heads of their respective *ṭuruq* in Egypt. Besides these a number of *takāyā* existed, housing communities of mystics belonging to *ṭuruq* whose heads had recognized al-Bakrī's authority and were appointed by him, but were dealt with, nevertheless, as independent communities with their own *mashāyikh* over them. The residents were predominantly foreigners or were not native Egyptians[212] and some *takāyā* only had residents who came from a particular country or area, e.g. from Bukhāra, from Khokand or from Anatolia. The heads of these establishments, if they were entitled to periodic payments from *al-Rūznāma* or from another official source, had all accepted the fact that al-Bakrī had become the sole official who could legally appoint them. This is hardly surprising since they would not receive these payments unless formal appointments by al-Bakrī had been obtained.

When one of them died, the heads of the other *takāyā* would go to the establishment of the deceased, in the company of a representative of al-Bakrī. They would see to it that the inheritance of the deceased was dealt with in accordance with the *sharī'a*[213] and at the same time they would inquire about a possible successor. When such a post became vacant, as in the case of death or the departure of the incumbent, al-Bakrī would not appoint a successor unless the residents of the *ṭakīya* had elected one from their midst.[214] This proposed candidate could be a descendant or relative of the former head of the *ṭakīya*.[215] However, this was in no way the established practice, as had evolved in the case of the heads of the *ṭuruq*. Here the only requirement for appointment was that the candidate's authority over the inmates was expected to have a legitimate basis.

Among the residents of a *ṭakīya* disputes might occur between factions each supporting a different candidate.[216] Such a disagreement

cf. Nābulusī, f. 236[a]; and Çelebī, *Seyāhatnāme*, x, 251. A *takīya* of this *ṭariqa* in Alexandria had been controlled by Turkish Qādiris presumably from around the middle of the 19th century onwards, as may be inferred from MS Leiden Or. 14432 (Niyāzī documents)/Ia (22 Rab. I 1307); *idem*/Ib (26 Rab. I 1307); *idem*/IIa (20 Raj. 1311); *idem*/IIb (20 Raj. 1311).

[212] Cf. *Khiṭ.*, i, 90; vi, 54.

[213] I-30/5 (6 Raj. 1287); I-32/2 (23 Raj. 1287).

[214] I-69/1 (25 Jum. II 1288); I-80/2 (29 Sha'bān 1288); III-16/4 (11 Jum. I 1290); V-30(10)/6 (13 Rab. II 1297); IV-4/1 (n.d.; 1288).

[215] Cf. I-13/3 (3 Rab. II 1287) for succession of a son; II-36/5 (7 Qa'da 1289); II-31(11)1 (11 Rab. I 1290) for succession of a brother.

[216] IV-4/1 (8 Sha'bān 1288).

rarely lasted long, since the *ṭakīya*, and hence its inmates, could not receive any payments from official sources except through a legally appointed head. Obviously this circumstance induced the factions involved to reach an agreement as soon as possible. If the inhabitants of a *ṭakīya* continued to disagree about the person to be appointed as *shaykh* over them, a council would be convened in order to investigate the matter and to mediate between the parties involved.[217] In these councils heads of *ṭuruq*, of *takāyā* and shrines participated and were, to all intents and purposes, each other's equals. This was also the case in similar councils convened when disputes occurred involving members of *ṭuruq* or persons connected with *ṭuruq*-linked institutions and coming within the realm of al-Bakrī's jurisdiction.

Once appointment was made, al-Bakrī informed the *Rūznāma* Department and gave instructions to pay the customary salary to the newly appointed *shaykh*.[218] Since the majority of the heads of the *takāyā* benefited from *awqāf* supervised by the *Dīwān al-Awqāf*[219] or had dealings with it in other ways,[220] he would also inform this Department[221] as well as the *nāẓir al-Khāṣṣa* if the *ṭakīya* had an income from this source.[222] The chief of police (*ma'mūr*) in Cairo was also informed,[223] since he was held primarily responsible for assisting the newly appointed *shaykh* in assuming his office, in case the *shaykh* should be forcibly prevented from doing so by the inhabitants of the *ṭakīya* who disagreed with the appointment. Further, al-Bakrī informed the *ma'mūr*'s superior, the governor of Cairo.[224] The governor needed to know who was in charge of the various *takāyā*, since these officials were considered to be religious dignitaries and had to be invited by him to official ceremonies[225].

At the major religious celebrations organized and supervised by

[217] I-79/6 (23 Sha'bān 1288); IV-2/4 (4 Ram. 1289).

[218] III-16/5 (11 Jum. I 1290).

[219] See e.g. WA, no. 2976 (23 Ṣaf. 1282).

[220] E.g. in cases in which stipends from the *Dā'ira al-Khāṣṣa al-Khidīwiyya* (the Civil List) were paid through this *Dīwān*; cf. IV-22(13)/2 (13 Shaw. 1290). For the stipends paid by *al-Rūznāma* to the heads of the various *takāyā* as well as the revenues received out of *awqāf* see *Khiṭ.*, vi, 84ff.

[221] I-13/3 (3 Rab. I 1287); II-15/8 (11 Jum. I 1289); III-16/4 (11 Jum. I 1290).

[222] II-36/5 (7 Qa'da 1289); II-37/5 (7 Ḥijja 1289).

[223] III-35/6 (20 Muḥ. 1290).

[224] II-15/7 (11 Jum. I 1289); III-34/3 (4 Qa'da 1290).

[225] Among others they were invited to attend the investment ceremony of the khedive Tawfīq; cf. V-8(15)/8 (6 Raj. 1296) and to the *mihrajān nāhil* held for his son, Muḥammad 'Alī; cf. II-35/4 (Qa'da 1289).

al-Bakrī neither the inhabitants of the *takāyā* nor their heads participated in the various ceremonial processions held. However, for the performance of a *ḥaḍra* or for participation in the *ḥaḍarāt* held by other *ṭuruq*, al-Bakrī would invite the following *mashāyikh al-takāyā* and the inmates of the *takāyā* supervised by them:[226]

Muḥammad al-Shāfi'ī	–	shaykh takīyat al-Ustādh al-Maghribī
Shākir Khān	–	shaykh takīyat Ḥasan al-Rūmī
Mīrzā	–	shaykh takīyat al-Bukhārliyya
Muḥammad Bakhshī	–	shaykh takīyat al-Hunūd
'Uthmān Efendī Sulaymān	–	shaykh takīyat al-Uzbak
Muḥammad Efendī 'Āshiq	–	shaykh takīyat al-Naqshbandiyya
Aḥmad Efendī Khākī	–	shaykh takīyat Darb Qirmiz
Muḥammad Bakīr	–	shaykh takīyat Qayṣūn
Muḥammad Nūr	–	shaykh takīyat al-Rukubiyya
'Alī	–	shaykh takīyat al-Ghannām
Muḥammad Efendī	–	shaykh takīyat Shaykhūn
Ibrāhīm	–	shaykh takīyat al-Surūjiyya
Naṣr Efendī	–	shaykh takīyat Muḥyī 'l-Dīn
Ibrāhīm Efendī	–	shaykh takīyat Būlāq
'Abd al-Raḥmān Efendī	–	shaykh takīyat Qaṣr al-'Aynī
'Abbās	–	shaykh takīyat al-Maghāwirī
Ḥasan Efendī	–	shaykh takīyat al-Mawlawiyya
Khalīl Efendī	–	shaykh takīyat al-Gulshaniyya

Ṭarīqa allegiance of the heads of the takīyat al-Ustādh al-Maghribī, which was located near to Shāri' al-Ismā'īliyya reaching from al-Azbakiyya to Būlāq, and the takīyat Ḥasan al-Rūmī, in Shāri' al-Maḥjar near the citadel,[227] is unknown. Nor are any data available suggesting a particular *ṭarīqa* membership or regional provenance for the inmates of the *takāyā* controlled by them. Historical data are available only for the takīyat Ḥasan al-Rūmī. These are restricted, however, to the 18th century and are limited in scope and content.[228] The takīyat al-Bukhārliyya, of which the complete name was takīyat Niẓām al-Dīn al-Bukhārliyya,[229] was located nearby in al-Ḥaṭṭāba,

[226] II-29/4 (10 Shaw. 1289). The sequence has been rearranged in order to fit the following discussion.
[227] *Khiṭ.*, ii, 103; vi, 55.
[228] Cf. chapter I, notes 128 and 129.
[229] *Khiṭ.*, iii, 130.

and was reserved for Bukhārīs under a Bukhārī *shaykh*.[230] The takīyat al-Hunūd was also controlled and inhabited by Bukhārīs[231] who must have belonged to al-Qādiriyya, since the right of residence in this *takīya* seems to have been reserved to members of this *ṭarīqa*.[232]

Of the inmates of the takīyat al-Uzbak, also known as takīyat Muḥammad Taqī 'l-Dīn al-Bisṭāmī in Darb al-Labbān,[233] a part of the residents were of Bukhārī extraction and from 1201 (1786/87) until 1288 (1871/72) it had also been under Bukhārī *mashāyikh* of Bukhārī origin.[234] In 1288 (1871/72), however, a faction of the *takīya*'s residents who were Khokandī nationals took action in order to obtain the appointment of a Khokandī national as successor to the Bukharī *shaykh* of the *takīya*, who had died in that year.[235] This was opposed by the Bukhārī community of the *takīya* who presented their own candidate to al-Bakrī.[236] A prolonged conflict followed in which nationalistic rivalries were involved,[237] and resulted in the monopolization of the *takīya* by the Khokandīs,[238] notwithstanding the fact that they had publicly declared that they would agree to the appointment of somebody of Uzbak extraction, without national affiliations, as *shaykh* of the *takīya*.[239]

The latter, 'Uthman Efendī Sulaymān, mentioned in the list above, belonged to the Naqshbandiyya order which had an active community in a *takīya* located near Shāri' al-Ḥabbāniyya dating from 1268 (1851/52). This *takīya* had been constructed in that year by the khedive 'Abbās I

[230] Cf. IV-13(4)/1 (7 Jum. I 1289).
[231] *Khiṭ.*, ii, 13, 104 and vi, 57.
[232] Cf. Zakhūrā, i, 224 *d.*
[233] Cf. I-63/3 (20 Rab. II 1288); and *Khiṭ.*, ii, 54, 104.
[234] See I-69/1 (25 Jum. II 1288).
[235] I-79/6 (23 Sha'bān 1288).
[236] I-66/2 (4 Jum. II 1288).
[237] Khokand had become an independent khanate in a region which was traditionally part of Bukhāra, at the end of the 18th century. Ever since, the two khanates had been in a situation of more or less protracted conflict, and embarked upon military campaigns on a number of occasions — in 1842 for instance —, resulting in the Bukhārī occupation of Khokand; and in 1871, an event ending in the occupation of Karategin, previously a *de facto* independent province under one Muẓaffar Shāh, nominally subject to Khokand. In 1876 the khanate was annexed to Russia. Cf. S. Becker, *Russia's Protectorates in Central Asia: Bukhara and Khiva (1865-1924)*, Cambridge, Mass. 1968, 39, 49, 53; and M. Holdsworth, *Turkestan in the Nineteenth Century. A brief History of the Khanates of Bukhara, Khokand and Khiva*, Oxford 1959, *passim*.
[238] IV-13(4)/1 (7 Jum. I 1289).
[239] II-15/7, 8, 9 (11 Jum. I 1289).

at his own expense; he also established extensive *awqāf* to support it.[240] He had done so as a favour to a Naqshbandī *shaykh*, Muḥammad ʿĀshiq (d. 1300 : 1883), mentioned as the *takīya*'s head.[241] This *shaykh* was of Turkish (Osmanli) extraction and had been initiated into al-Naqshbandiyya by Aḥmad Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn al-Kümüshkhānalī (d. 1311 : 1893),[242] whose Way, al-Ḍiyāʾiyya, was a branch of al-Khālidiyya, the Naqshbandiyya tradition propagated by Khālid al-Shahrazūrī (d. 1242 : 1827), the great revivalist of this *ṭarīqa* in the Arab world.[243]

Another *takīya* headed by a *shaykh* who belonged to this *ṭarīqa* was the takīyat Darb Qirmiz.[244] Its *shaykh*, Aḥmad Khākī (d. 1891), did not represent al-Khālidiyya or any of its branches, but represented al-Mujaddidiyya, an earlier Naqshbandiyya tradition going back to Aḥmad al-Sirhindī (d. 1034 : 1624).[245] The majority of the residents of this *takīya*, however, appear to have belonged to al-Khalwatiyya.[246]

Takāyā headed by *mashāyikh* who used to belong to this *ṭarīqa* exclusively but in which, moreover, the right to reside was restricted to members of this *ṭarīqa*, are the takīyat Qayṣūn, commonly known as the takīyat al-Khalwatiyya in al-Ḥilmiyya,[247] the takīyat al-Rukubiyya in Shāriʿ al-Rukubiyya[248] and the takīyat al-Ghannām in Ghayṭ al-ʿIdda.[249] In the takīyat Muḥyī 'l-Dīn, near the citadel in the Shāriʿ al-Maḥjar[250] and in the takīyat Būlāq, also known as

[240] For the text of the *waqfiyya*, see WA, no. 856 (20 Rab. II 1308). For other *awqāf* established in its favour, cf. WA, no. 2834 (5 Qaʿda 1266).

[241] *Khiṭ.*, iii, 10; iv, 57.

[242] For his biography see Muḥammad Zāhid al-Kawtharī (Kevseri), *Irghām al-Marīd fī Sharḥ al-Naẓm al-ʿAtīd li-Tawassul al-Murīd*, Constantinople 1302; Muḥammad Muḥammad Mādī al-Rakhāwī, *Al-Anwār al-Qudsiyya fī Manāqib al-Sāda al-Sāda al-Naqshbandiyya*, Cairo 1344, 264.

[243] Cf. A. Hourani, 'Shaykh Khālid and the Naqshbandi Order', in S. M. Stern, A. Hourani, and V. Brown (eds.), *Islamic Philosophy and the Classical Tradition*, Colombia, South Carolina 1972, 89-103.

[244] See *Khiṭ.*, ii, 13, for details about this *takīya*.

[245] Cf. 'Ijāza bi-Ṭarīq al-Naqshbandiyya'.

On Sirhindī and his teachings see e.g. the relevant chapters in S. A. A. Rizvi, *Muslim Revivalist Movements in Northern India in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, Agra 1965, 202ff., in addition to the balanced revaluation of al-Sirhindī's thought in Y. Friedmann, *Shaykh Aḥmad Sirhindī. An Outline of His Thought and a Study of His Image in the Eyes of Posterity*, Montreal/London 1971.

[246] Cf. Zakhūrā, i, 224 *d*; *Khiṭ.*, iii, 130.

[247] *Khiṭ.*, ii, 40; vi, 55.

[248] Also known as zāwiyat Bābā Yaḥyā; cf. *Khiṭ.*, ii, 59; and vi, 57.

[249] Cf. *ibid.* For *awqāf* established in favour of the last mentioned *takīya*, see WA, no. 510 (8 Shaw. 1231).

[250] Cf. Deny, *Sommaire*, 23.

takīyat al-Rifāʿiyya,[251] it was to the last-named *ṭarīqa* that heads and residents belonged.[252] The takīyat Muḥyī 'l-Dīn was founded by the khedive ʿAbbās I in 1266 (1850).[253] Additional data relevant to the history of these institutions do not go beyond what is reported by ʿAlī Mubārak.[254] This is equally the case with the takīyat Shaykhūn in Shāriʿ al-Ṣalība and the takīyat al-Surūjiyya[255] in the Cairene quarter of the same name, the heads and inmates of which used to belong to al-Qādiriyya exclusively.[256] The takīyat Qaṣr al-ʿAynī was also inhabited by Qādirīs and supervised by a *shaykh* belonging to that *ṭarīqa*.[257] Before 1826 however, the *takīya* had been the principal centre of al-Bektāshiyya in Egypt (see above page 26). In this year, in Egypt as well as elsewhere in the Ottoman Empire,[258] the *ṭarīqa* was suppressed; a *shaykh* belonging to al-Qādiriyya was appointed over the takīyat Qaṣr al-ʿAynī, which has been supervised and inhabited by members of this *ṭarīqa* ever since.[259] After 1839, however, when a new Ottoman Sultan, ʿAbd al-Majīd, had come to power, the *ṭarīqa* started to manifest itself openly again, and already by the end of the 1850's a Bektāshī community was re-established in Egypt.[260] Apparently it was favoured by the khedive Ismāʿīl who, by decree, granted to the *ṭarīqa* the *takīya* of ʿAbd Allāh al-Maghāwirī on the slopes of al-Muqaṭṭam, a building in poor condition which he had partially restored, adding new annexes.[261] The shrine of ʿAbd Allāh al-Maghāwirī itself, however, remained in the control of a

[251] Cf. *Khiṭ.*, vi, 55.

[252] At the end of the 19th century a number of Turkish Qādirīs were also resident here; cf. *Khiṭ.*, iii, 130.

[253] Deny, *ibid.*

[254] *Khiṭ.*, vi, 54ff.

[255] This *takīya* was also known as al-takīya al-Sulaymāniyya after the Mamlūk *amīr* Sulaymān Bāshā, who had established it in 920 A.H.; cf. *Khiṭ.*, ii, 38; vi, 56. For *awqāf* established in favour of this *takīya*, see WA, no. 866 (5 Shaw. 1281) and WA, no. 1158 (25 Ḥijja 1278).

[256] *Khiṭ.*, iii, 130; vi, 56; Zakhūrā, *ibid.* The former *takīya* is referred to as *al-takīya al-Qādiriyya bi-Miṣr bi-Khaṭṭ al-Ṣalība* in WA, no. 868 (5 Shaʿbān 1281).

[257] Cf. DWQ, *daftar* 50, *waṯīqa* 287 (Dīwān Maʿiyya Saniyya Turkī), (new classification : 8/1/129/1), 5 Ram. 1248.

[258] Cf. J. K. Birge, *The Bektashi Order of Dervishes*, London 1965 (repr.), 77f.

[259] Sirrī, 41f.

[260] This community resided in a house near Bāb al-Lūq. The house did not have any official status as *takīya* but was private property of a certain Muḥammad Ṣādiq Bābā; cf. Sirrī, 42; and F. Köprülü, 'Mısır'da Bektaşılık', *Türkiyat Mecmuası*, vi (1936-39), 25.

[261] Sirrī, 43f.

descendant of this saint not linked with the *ṭarīqa*.[262] The head of the *takīya* itself was to rank among the heads of the *takāyā* who were in that capacity at the same time heads of *ṭuruq* in Egypt, together with the heads of the takīyat al-Mawlawiyya and the takīyat al-Gulshaniyya.[263]

Between 1872 and 1879 the number of *takāyā* whose heads were under al-Bakrī's authority must have increased by another six. This appears from correspondence conducted between al-Bakrī and *al-Ma'iyya al-Khidīwiyya* about stipends to be paid by the khedive to the residents of the *takāyā* in 1879. In these documents reference is made to 488 permanent residents in 24 *takīya*s who would be entitled to the khedivial benevolence (*al-marāḥim al-khidīwiyya*).[264] These *takāyā* are not mentioned by name. It is possible, however, to deduce them from 'Alī Mubārak's enumeration of *takāyā* under al-Bakrī's authority in 1304 (1886/7).[265] This author gives eight more *takāyā* in addition to the ones listed above, viz. the takīyat al-Ḥabbāniyya, the takīyat al-Mīrghaniyya, the takīyat al-Sayyida Nafīsa (al-Ashraf), the takīyat al-'Iẓām, the takīyat al-Naqshbandiyya near Ḥūsh al-Sharqāwī, the *takīya* near the shrine of Umm al-Ghulām, the takīyat al-Bukhārī near Bāb al-Wazīr and the takīyat al-Sayyida Ruqayya.

Of the heads of these *takāyā*, the *shaykh* of the takīyat al-Ḥabbāniyya is least likely to have been under al-Bakrī's jurisdiction before or during 1879. The *takīya* was part of a *waqf*[266] whose *nāẓir* was concomitantly *shaykh* of the *takīya*, in which office he also held teaching obligations. This official used to be appointed by the *Dīwān al-Awqāf* upon recommendation by *al-Azhar*.[267] A *shaykh* appointed in this way,

[262] III-11/8 (end of Rab. I 1290); IV-22(13)/2 (13 Shaw. 1290). For more detail about the history of this *ṭarīqa*, the reader is referred to F. de Jong, 'The Bektashi Order in Egypt and Albania after 1826' (forthcoming).

[263] The takīyat al-Mawlawiyya was in Shāri' al-Suyyūfiyya; cf. *Khiṭ.*, vi, 57. The takīyat al-Gülshāniyya was near Bāb al-Zuwayla; cf. *Khiṭ.*, vi, 54.

[264] V-1(8)/8 (4 Rab. II 1296); V-6(13)/5 (11 Jum. II 1296); V-6(13)/6 (18 Jum. II 1296); V-7(14)/5 (18 Jum. II 1296). The number of residents had increased by 58 since the preceding year; cf. V-6(13)/5 (11 Jum. II 1296).

[265] *Khiṭ.*, iii, 130.

[266] It was part of a *waqf* established by the Ottoman Sultan Maḥmūd I and he belonged to the *awqāf al-ḥaramayn*; cf. *Khiṭ.*, vi, 55. Originally it was known as Madrasat al-Sulṭān Maḥmūd; cf. Sāmī, *Al-Ta'līm*, *mulḥaq* ii, 32, and also as takīyat al-Sulṭān Maḥmūd.

[267] Cf. DWQ, *daftar* 52 (Majlis Khuṣūṣī), p. 44, *mus.*, 15 (19 Ram. 1292). Arminjon, *L'Enseignement*, 61, mentions this *takīya* as one of the few in which courses were given by teachers "on loan" from al-Azhar.

without any recourse to al-Bakrī, is known to have been in office for some years from the end of 1875 onwards.[268]

The takīyat al-Mīrghaniyya is unlikely to have been among the 24 *takīya*s over which al-Bakrī held authority in 1879. According to the *ṭarīqa*'s oral tradition, this *takīya* was established when Muḥammad 'Uthmān Tāj al-Sirr, the grandson of the founder of this *ṭarīqa*, had taken up residence in Cairo.[269] This he did on two occasions, once in 1296 (1879) and again in 1303 (1885) when, during the Mahdiyya, he came to Cairo as a refugee.[270] Since this last occasion coincides more or less with the year in which 'Alī Mubārak reports its existence, the *takīya* would probably have been founded during Muḥammad 'Uthmān's first period of residence in Cairo in 1926 (1879) and hence it cannot have been among the 24 *takīya*s referred to above. Therefore, those whose heads had recognized al-Bakrī's authority between 1872 and 1879 must have been the remaining six *takāyā*. Among these six the takīyat al-Sayyida Nafīsa (al-Ashraf) had originally been a *madrasa*.[271] It did not function as a *takīya* until 1880 when it was reconstructed for this purpose.[272] The takīyat al-'Iẓām, situated near the mosque of al-'Ashmāwī near al-Azbakiyya[273] and the takīyat al-Naqshbandiyya near Ḥūsh al-Sharqāwī[274] were similarly recent establishments, the first being founded by the khedive Ismā'īl.[275] Of the takīyat Umm al-Ghulām, the takīyat al-Bukhārī near Bāb al-Wazīr and the takīyat al-Sayyida Ruqayya, it is only for this last that 'Alī Mubārak gives any historical information.[276] In this *takīya*, as well as in the *takāyā* of Umm al-Ghulām, al-Ashraf, and al-'Iẓām, the residents were Turkish Qādirīs exclusively.[277] Nothing more definite is known concerning *ṭarīqa* allegiance or regional

[268] DWQ, *daftar* 52, *ibid.*

[269] For information concerning the early history of al-Mīrghaniyya in Egypt I am obliged to its present-day *shaykh al-sajjāda*, Muḥammad Sirr al-Khatm al-Mīrghanī.

[270] Cf. P. M. Holt, *The Mahdist State in the Sudan, 1881-1898. A Study of its Origins, Development and Overthrow*, Oxford 1970 (2nd ed.), 166. Muḥammad 'Uthmān died in Cairo in 1886; cf. J. S. Trimingham, *Islam in the Sudan*, London 1949, 233; Na'ūm Shuqayr, *Ta'rikh al-Sūdān al-Qadīm wa 'l-Ḥadīth wa Jughrāfiyyatuhu*, 3 vols. Cairo 1903; iii, 336.

[271] *Khiṭ.*, vi, 57; Sāmī, *Al-Ta'līm*, *mulḥaq* ii, 24.

[272] *Khiṭ.*, *ibid.*

[273] *Khiṭ.*, iii, 130.

[274] *Ibid.*, and Zakhūrā i, 224 *d.*

[275] *Khiṭ.*, *ibid.*

[276] *Khiṭ.*, ii, 61.

[277] *Khiṭ.*, iii, 130.

provenance of the inmates of the takīyat al Naqshbandiyya and the takīyat al-Bukhārī, than is suggested by their names.

n. *Al-Bakrī's administration, the Cairene shrines and their intendants*

The intendants of the numerous shrines in the capital[278] were appointed by al-Bakrī by the same procedure as for the intendants of the shrines in the provinces, and according to the same principles (see above p. 60). After an appointment had been made, al-Bakrī informed the *Rūznāma* Department and the *Dīwān al-Awqāf*, if the intendant of the shrine was entitled to receive contributions from these sources.[279] The *ẓabṭiyya* could be called upon in order to secure the rights of those involved and to enforce decisions settling disputes about succession or among the officials attached to the shrine or shrine-mosque.[280]

Disputes among these officials generally originated in disagreement about the way in which *nudhūr*[281] were distributed by the *shaykh al-khidma*. Custom allowed the *shaykh* to keep one third for himself. One third he had to allocate for the benefit of the shrine and its visitors and another third had to be distributed to those connected with

[278] Mubārak puts the total number of shrines in the capital at 294; cf. *Khiṭ.*, i, 89.

[279] I-87/1 (1 Ḥijja 1288); I-87/7 (19 Ḥijja 1288); II-6/4 (28 Ṣaf. 1289).

[280] Cf. V-11(9)/2 (21 Raj. 1296); V-23(3)/1 (14 Ṣaf. 1297).

[281] *Nadhr* (pl. *nudhūr*, *nudhūrāt*) literally means "votive offering". However, from the documents in Leiden F. Or. A. 283 it appears that the term was used with a more extensive meaning, which referred to everything presented to a shrine, thus indicating the *nudhūr* in the stricter sense as well as the *ṣadaqāt* (pious gifts). *Nudhūrāt* in either meaning could consist of:

a. goods which can be used in the shrine or the mosque. This category includes candles, oil, lamps, chandeliers, candlesticks, carpets, rugs, mats, various blankets, curtains, clocks, furniture, braziers, calligraphies and the like as well as cattle for the *idārat al-sawāqa*.

b. goods which are of use to the *khidma* of the shrine or mosque, to those responsible for its religious functions, to students, teachers, those who have been appointed to instruct in the *shar'ī* sciences (as in the Burhāmī and the Aḥmadī mosques). This category includes money put in the *ṣundūq* or handed over to someone belonging to the *khidma* for the *ṣundūq*, farming products of all kinds, edibles of all kinds, meat of all kinds, slaughtered animals or animals intended for slaughter.

Cf. *Lā'iḥat al-Nudhūrāt*, 3ff.

With respect to the *ṣadaqāt* (pious gifts) a distinction was made between *ṣadaqāt al-ṣundūq* and *ṣadaqāt al-khidma*, the former being intended for the maintenance of the building itself, and the latter as either a contribution to the income of the officials attached to the shrine or for distribution by them to those present in the shrine possibly on specified occasions; cf. *Lā'iḥat al-Nudhūrāt*, 6. See in this connection also note 170, and chapter I, note 169.

the shrine. Moreover, if the *shaykh al-khidma* received any income from the *Rūznāma* Department or the *Dīwān al-Awqāf*, he had to allocate that income in the same proportion.[282] Obviously the wide variety in kind of what could be given as *nudhūr* and the sometimes large number of those entitled to a share in it, made this arrangement so inadequate as to be full of potential conflict. Moreover, this arrangement could induce a *shaykh khidma* to push other officials out of office and to try to have himself appointed to their places, in order to obtain more from the *nudhūr* than he was originally entitled to.[283] Whenever this happened, or when an official connected with a shrine had not received his due share, he could complain to al-Bakrī who would order an inquiry and might arrange for settlement.[284]

In the shrine-mosques of the relatives of the Prophet, as well as in other major shrine-mosques in Cairo, supervision of the shrines rested with the *nuẓẓār* of these mosques.[285] Al-Bakrī had hardly any control over these officials since they used to be confirmed in office by the *qāḍī* to whom they were also ultimately responsible for the proper performance of their tasks.[286] This situation came to an end in 1276 (1859/60), when a khedivial decree was issued altering the supervision of the shrines in these mosques, and transferring ultimate responsibility for the allocation of the *nudhūr*, which had been a function of the *nāẓir*, to a separate office.[287] The incumbents of this office, like the other intendants of the shrines, fell under al-Bakrī's jurisdiction exclusively. They could not claim their tenure as legal, unless they had been appointed by him.

A majority of these newly appointed officials were among a distinct group of intendants of shrines in Cairo who, in the course of the sixties, obtained a position within al-Bakrī's administration, similar in some respects to the position of the heads of the *ṭuruq* and the heads of the *takāyā*. This group included the intendants of all the shrines in Cairo which were important centres of veneration but were not controlled

[282] Cf. II-1/3 (18 Muḥ. 1289). The *nudhūr* of some shrines were distributed in different ways; cf. *Taqrīr 'an al-Waẓīfa*, 2.

[283] This had happened, for instance, in the shrine-mosque of al-Sayyida 'Ā'isha al-Nabawiyya, where eight offices, to each of which a stipend was attached, had been accumulated by the shrine's intendant Ibrāhīm al-Shubrāwī; cf. IV-7/3 (n.d. 1290).

[284] See e.g. III-12/7 (7 Rab. II 1290); III-32/5 (19 Shaw. 1290).

[285] Ḥasan, 14.

[286] Cf. A. Y. Massouda, *Contribution à l'Étude du Waqf en Droit Égyptien*, Paris 1925, 159.

[287] Ḥasan, *ibid.*

directly by a *shaykh ṭarīqa*.[288] Like the latter, and on an equal footing with them, these officials took part in the councils (*majālis al-qaḍāyā*) which used to be convened in order to investigate and mediate in case of conflict.[289] They were invited by the municipality on special occasions, and by al-Bakrī, together with the heads of the *ṭuruq* and the *takāyā*, from among all the intendants of shrines in the capital, to the religious celebrations referred to above. They formed a distinct category of religious dignitaries known as *mashāyikh al-aḍriḥa*[290] which comprised:

Muḥammad al-Minyāwī	– maqām al-Imām al-Ḥusayn
Aḥmad al-Ṣafaṭī	– maqām al-Sayyida Zaynab
ʿAbd al-Khāliq/ʿAlī Ḥasan	– maqām al-Sayyida Nafīsa
ʿAlī Ṣāliḥ	– maqām al-Sayyida Sakīna
Ibrāhīm al-Shubrāwī/ Muḥammad al-ʿAshmāwī	– maqām al-Sayyida ʿĀʾisha
Muḥammad al-Ḥabbānī	– maqām al-Sayyida Fāṭima al-Nabawiyya
ʿAlī	– maqām al-Sayyid ʿAlī Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn
ʿAlī Muḥsin	– maqām al-Imām al-Shāfiʿī and maqām al-Imām Layth b. Saʿd
Muḥammad al-Sinbāṭī	– maqām al-Sulṭān al-ʿĀdil Tūmān Bāy
ʿAlī Farghal	– maqām Ḥusayn Abū 'l-ʿAlā'
Riḍwān al-Bakrī	– maqām al-Sulṭān Muḥammad al-Ḥanafī
Muḥammad al-Mahdī/ Muḥammad Nuwaytū	– maqām al-Shaykh Ismāʿīl al-Imbābī
ʿAbd al-Khāliq	– maqām al-Shaykh Ṣāliḥ Abū Ḥadīd
ʿAbd al-Wāḥid al-ʿInānī	– maqām al-Sāda al-ʿInāniyya

[288] Examples of these are the shrines of ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-ʿAfīfī, Sīdī Marzūq al-Yamānī and ʿAlī al-Bayyūmī.

[289] Cf. I-66/2 (4 Jum. I 1288); I-79/6 (23 Shaʿbān 1288).

[290] They are referred to as such in the numerous lists of guests invited by al-Bakrī on various occasions contained in the documents of the series F. Or. A. 283. In the copies of various letters contained in this series the term would seem to refer to this group of dignitaries exclusively. In addition, individual references continue to be made to them as *shaykh khidma*; see e.g. I-87/1 (1 Ḥijja 1288); and II-87/7 (19 Ḥijja 1288). It is unlikely, however, that with the emergence of this distinct category of religious dignitaries the term *mashāyikh al-aḍriḥa* had lost its meaning as the plural of *shaykh al-ḍariḥ*, i.e. denoting the intendants of shrines in general.

The present list is based upon II-30/1 (10 Shaw. 1289). It has been rearranged for the sake of the following discussion.

Muḥammad Muḥammad al-Khuḍayrī	– maqām al-Ustādh Sulaymān al-Khuḍayrī
ʿAbd al-Ḥalīm	– maqām al-Shaʿrānī
Muṣṭafā al-Demirdāsh	– maqām Muḥammad Demirdāsh al-Muḥammadī

Intendancy of the last four shrines mentioned[291] was held by the leaders of al-ʿInāniyya, al-Khuḍayriyya, al-Shaʿrāniyya and al-Demirdāshiyya respectively. The importance of their *ṭarīqa* leadership, however, had diminished due to an apparent decline in membership. For al-Shaʿrāniyya and al-Demirdāshiyya, whose active membership had traditionally been confined to Cairo[292] — in the case of al-Shaʿrāniyya even to one quarter of the city in particular[293] — this decline seems to have begun simultaneously with, and possibly as a result of, conflicts which had occurred about control of the shrines.[294]

The decline of al-ʿInāniyya and al-Khuḍayriyya, who lost their membership outside Cairo (see also below pp. 103ff.), came about in a different way. The heads of these orders had been among the *arbāb al-sajājīd* over whom al-Bakrī had not obtained any authority by the

[291] For these shrines see *Khiṭ.*, iv, 61f.; iv, 108f. and v, 34f.; v, 122f. respectively.

[292] In the case of al-Demirdāshiyya this was the direct consequence of the requirements demanded of a potential *murīd*. Anybody desiring membership had to attend the weekly *ḥaḍarāt* of the *ṭarīqa* held near the shrine of its founder, for a period of not less than two years. During this period he had to be under the surveillance of one of the *ṭarīqa*'s twelve *nuqabā'*, who were always residents of Cairo. These had to judge the character of the candidate and could propose him for initiation to the head of the *ṭarīqa*; cf. Zakī Muḥammad Mujāhid, *Al-Aʿlām al-Sharqiyya fī 'l-Miʾa al-Rābiʿa ʿAshra al-Hijriyya*, iv vols., Cairo 1949-1963, iii, 110. Traditionally, there were never more than twelve *nuqabā'* at the time. New *nuqabā'* were elected by the head of the *ṭarīqa* in consultation with the *nuqabā'* already in office; cf. Muḥammad Sulaymān al-Bushārī, *Tuḥfat al-Albāb wa Hidāyat al-Ṭullāb fīmā yajibu ʿalayhim min al-Ādāb*, Cairo 1322, 81f.

[293] Cf. Raymond, *Artisans*, ii, 436.

[294] In al-Demirdāshiyya this conflict occurred, according to the oral tradition of the *ṭarīqa*, around 1860. At that time, the *naqīb al-nuqabā'* (i.e. the most senior of the twelve *nuqabā'*), Ismāʿīl Qāsim, as well as two members of the *ṭarīqa*, Ṣāliḥ Āghā and ʿUthmān, who had each married a daughter of the deceased head of the *ṭarīqa*, Muṣṭafā al-Kabīr (who did not have any male offspring), temporarily refused to accept the authority of one of the *nuqabā'* also named ʿUthmān, who had been nominated by the late Muṣṭafā al-Kabīr as his successor as head of the *ṭarīqa*; cf. the appendix to Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad Demirdāsh, *Risāla fī Maʿrifat al-Ḥaqāʾiq*, Cairo n.d., 53ff.; al-Bushārī, 78; and also Muḥammad Nūr Ṣāliḥ al-Sirjānī, *Risālat al-Silsila al-Dhahabiyya fī Tarājim Rijāl al-Sāda al-Khalwatiyya al-Demirdāshiyya*, Cairo 1319, *passim*.

In the case of al-Shaʿrāniyya the conflict was between descendants of the *ṭarīqa*'s founder; cf. I-29/8 (16 Jum. II 1287); I-87/1 (1 Ḥijja 1288); II-1/1 (2 Muḥ. 1289).

firmān. They had remained external to his administration even after the conclusion of the agreement with al-Azhar in 1847. However, with the rise of the principle of *qadam* concomitant with and as part of the increasing efficiency of al-Bakrī's administration, the members of these orders had gradually become deprived of any opportunity to proselytize or to appear in public in the rural areas. By standing outside the system, they had no way of having their eventual claims for *qadam* recognized or protected, and this excluded them from playing a rôle as *ṭarīqa* members any longer. Therefore they abandoned their orders to join other *ṭuruq* whose heads did recognize al-Bakrī and therefore could claim all that right of *qadam* implied.[295] So, in 1276 (1859/60), when the khedivial decree by which they were appointed as *mashāyikh aḍriḥa* had placed them under al-Bakrī's authority, only a few nuclei of active members must have been left outside the urban centres where *qadam* did not apply.

Although none of these groups ceased to function as a *ṭarīqa*, their numerical strength had apparently so much decreased that they were not considered as such any longer within al-Bakrī's administration. The leaders of these groups, however, were intendants of shrines which were among the most important in Cairo. So, notwithstanding the decline of their orders, they continued to play a rôle of administrative and ceremonial importance within al-Bakrī's administration as *mashāyikh aḍriḥa*.[296]

Among these, the intendant of the shrine of shaykh Ṣāliḥ Abū Ḥadīd, hitherto unimportant, came to prominence in 1280 (1963/64). In this year a mosque was built incorporating the shrine, and paid for by the khedive Ismā'īl, who saw this saint in visions and put great confidence in his beneficent powers.[297] Nothing but the khedive's favouritism seems to account for the fact that the intendant of this shrine had become one of the *mashāyikh al-aḍriḥa*, although the saint whose shrine he controlled had no characteristics that were any different from those of the numerous other saints enshrined in Cairo.

[295] According to oral tradition of each group, their decline was at least partly owing to Muḥammad 'Alī's policy, which is said to have been aimed at undermining the position of their leaders.

[296] The *shaykh al-'Ināniyya* did not cease to be considered as one of the *arbāb al-sajājīd*; cf. IV-15(6), 16(7)/1 (15 Qa'da 1289). In addition to the office of *shaykh ḍarīḥ*, he continued to be appointed as *shaykh al-sajjāda al-'Ināniyya* by khedivial decree, as had been the case traditionally; cf. 'Aḥkām al-Majlis al-Ṣūfī al-A'lā mundhu Niṣf Qarn', *Al-Jarida al-Qaḍā'iyya*, ii/9 (Cairo 1931), 11.

[297] *Khiṭ.*, v, 37.

A particular case was the shrine of Ismā'īl al-Imbābī who was the founder of al-Imbābiyya, a branch of al-Aḥmadiyya. Shrines of the founders of *ṭuruq*, if not controlled by a descendant of the founder, were under the intendancy of the head of the *ṭarīqa*, or at least of a member of the *ṭarīqa*. Since the end of the 18th century, however, the shrine of Ismā'īl al-Imbābī had been under intendants who had no links at all with the *ṭarīqa* founded by him,[298] and by now it had become unique in Cairo.

With the exception of the intendants of the shrines of the two Imāms[299] — al-Imām al-Shāfi'ī and al-Imām Layth ibn Sa'd, both theologians and jurists — of al-Sulṭān al-'Ādil Tūmān Bāy[300] and of the two 15th century mystics Ḥusayn Abū 'l-'Alā'[301] and al-Sulṭān al-Ḥanafī,[302] all the remaining *mashāyikh al-aḍriḥa* were in charge of shrines of *ahl al-bayt*.[303]

To a number of these shrines a *shaykh qirā'at Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* was appointed. The task of this official was to organize and supervise the sessions near these shrines at which al-Jazūlī's *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* was recited. Those who held this office were generally entitled to certain payments out of the revenues from *awqāf* as well as a share from the *nudhūr* donated to the shrine concerned.[304] Ever since the conclusion of the agreement with al-Azhar in 1847, which had made these officials subject to al-Bakrī's authority, they had been appointed by him without recourse to the *shaykh al-ḍarīḥ* of whom they were entirely independent.[305] As religious dignitaries they were invited

[298] Cf. chapter I, note 48. On his shrine see *Khiṭ.*, viii, 86f.

[299] Cf. *Khiṭ.*, v, 22ff.; 96f.; Bannerth, *Wallfahrtsstätten*, 49-56.

[300] Cf. *Khiṭ.*, v, 44. I did not find any data to account for the fact that the intendant of this shrine figures among the *mashāyikh al-aḍriḥa*. At the end of the 17th century a group of Khalwatīs was resident here; cf. Çelebī, *Seyāhatnāme*, x, 252.

[301] *Khiṭ.*, v, 51f. and iv, 62; Bannerth, *Wallfahrtsstätten*, *passim*.

[302] *Khiṭ.*, iv, 99f., Bannerth, *Wallfahrtsstätten*, 67f. The most extensive biography is 'Alī b. 'Umar al-Batanūnī, *Al-Sirr al-Ṣafī fī Manāqib al-Sulṭān al-Ḥanafī*, ii vols., Cairo 1306. "Sulṭān" here signifies "King of Saints" and is applied to several other saints as well; cf. Lane, 438f.

[303] For biographies of these as well as other *ahl al-bayt* in Cairo, see Al-Sayyid Mu'min b. Ḥasan Mu'min al-Shiblanjī, *Nūr al-Abṣār fī Manāqib Āl Bayt al-Nabī al-Mukhtār*, Cairo 1298, 256ff., and Bannerth, *Wallfahrtsstätten*, *passim*.

[304] Cf. Zakhūrā, i, 244 *z*.

[305] Cf. *Khiṭ.*, iii, 134. Similar officials were the *mashāyikh qirā'at al-Burda* and the *mashāyikh qirā'at al-Ḥizb*. The former had to co-ordinate and supervise the sessions in which al-Būṣīrī's *Burdat al-Madīḥ* was recited; cf. *Khiṭ.*, *ibid.* Mubārak does not mention these officials as being subject to al-Bakrī's authority. The nature of these offices, however, would imply that he held authority over them. Only in F.Or.A. 284, II-78/1 (6 Rab. I 1311) which is a list of guests invited by al-Bakrī to attend the celebrations of the

to all the religious celebrations organized and supervised by al-Bakrī,[306] but they played no rôle within al-Bakrī's administration. To be invited to these occasions must have increased their prestige, while the fact that they had become linked to al-Bakrī's administration may have raised their social position. Apart from this, however, the fact that they had been made subject to al-Bakrī's authority does not seem to have given them any particular advantage.

The position of the heads of the *takāyā* and the *mashāyikh al-aḍriḥa* in Cairo was similar. Although they had been allotted a place in some respects resembling the place of the heads of the *ṭuruq* within al-Bakrī's administration, neither these officials nor the institutions they supervised would have existed in a substantially different way without it. Yet the way in which this administration had become integrated within Egyptian society had left them little choice but to accept it.

o. *The nature and scope of al-Bakrī's authority*

The heads of the *ṭuruq* were in a different position. To them the way in which their *ṭuruq* functioned had become largely dependent upon the existence of al-Bakrī's administration, while the way in which this administration functioned had become dependent upon the mode of existence of the *ṭuruq*. It was a symbiotic relationship in which the heads of most *ṭuruq* had indulged, since the advantages — protection of vested interests in rural areas implied in the principle of right of *qadam*, and the guarantee against secession that this principle implied, as *qadam* could not be claimed by any group taking an independent course — had seemed worthwhile. Therefore it seems justifiable to state that al-Bakrī's authority was legitimate and that its legitimacy increased when the area over which his authority was held expanded. This was primarily an expansion in terms of

mawlid al-nabī, is there mention of such an official, Muṣṭafā al-Bahī. About the *mashāyikh qirā'at al-Ḥizb*, see below p. 112.

[306] At the *mawlid al-nabī* celebrations in 1290 (1873), for instance, these were the following *mashāyikh* : 'Aṭiyya, *shaykh qirā'at Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* to the shrine of Fāṭima al-Nabawiyya; Muḥammad al-'Idwī, *idem* to the shrine of al-Sayyida Zaynab; Muṣṭafā al-(?), *idem* to the shrine of al-Imām al-Ḥusayn; Sa'īd Ḥasan, *idem* to the shrines of al-Imām Layth b. Sa'd and al-Imām al-Shāfi'ī; 'Abd al-Raḥmān, *idem* to the shrine of al-Sulṭān Abū 'l-'Alā'; cf. III-6 (23 Ṣaf. 1290). Before 1290 (1873) only one *shaykh qirā'at Dalā'il al-Khayrāt*, Muḥammad al-Laythī, is mentioned in the lists of guests invited by al-Bakrī; cf. I-31/6 (21 Raj. 1287).

numbers of groups and officials, but a geographical expansion into Upper Egypt had also taken place.[307] Here al-Bakrī's administration had previously been of little significance, which was probably owing to the fact that in these areas right of *qadam* does not appear to have been a socially operative value, in support of which al-Bakrī's administration could play a functional rôle (see above p. 41). Therefore it was not until the seventies that this administration became involved in the regions south of Cairo. Here, however, it was never to attain the significance it had in the Delta and various new *ṭuruq* were able to emerge and spread in Upper Egypt (see the next chapter), while remaining entirely independent of al-Bakrī.[308]

The legitimacy of al-Bakrī's authority must have increased further owing to the prominent rôle he played in the events preceding the deposition of the khedive Ismā'īl.[309] His support of the khedive against European intervention[310] and the active rôle he played in campaigns designed to keep the khedive on the throne,[311] gave him the halo of a national leader which added a genuine charismatic mode to his authority. At the end of his life he had shaped for himself an independent power position which was so considerable that Ismā'īl's successor Tawfīq, when discussing the reforms to be implemented in the *ṭuruq*, admitted to Malet, the British consul-general, that he "could not act upon these associations except through 'Alī al-Bakrī".[312]

[307] This is suggested by an increase in the correspondence between al-Bakrī and the provincial governors in these areas over the period indicated, about *ṭuruq* and related affairs, contained in the series F.Or.A. 283. See e.g. I-31/4 (21 Raj. 1287), al-Jīza/Aṭfīḥ; I-37/3 (25 Shaw. 1287), Jirjā; I-67/7 (5 Jum. II 1288), Jirjā; III-2/5 (14 Muḥ. 1290) Jirjā; V-2(9)/3 (17 Rabi 1296) al-Minyā/Banī Mazār; V-1(8)/1,2 (19 Rab. II 1296), al-Jīza; V-3(10)/4 (8 Jum. I 1296), al-Jīza/Aṭfīḥ; V-30(10)/4,5 (5 Rab. II 1297), al-Jīza.

[308] By the *firmān* of 1812 al-Bakrī had also obtained authority over the heads of the *zawāyā*. To what extent this arrangement ever had any practical implications for those in charge of these institutions is largely unknown. Of only a few is it known that they were actually controlled and supervised by *mashāyikh ṭuruq*. Many of these institutions were administered by descendants of the founder. For an enumeration of the *zawāyā* existent in Cairo before 1885, see *Khiṭ.*, vi, 16ff.

[309] A detailed account of these events may be found in the impressive study by A. Schölch, *Ägypten den Ägyptern! Die politische und gesellschaftliche Krise der Jahre 1879-1882 in Ägypten*, Zurich/Freiburg i.Br. 1973, 53ff.

For *maḥāḍir* of the decisions taken at the meetings in al-Bakrī's house preceding the acceptance of the *lā'iḥa al-waṭaniyya*, the financial project intended as an alternative to Wilson's plan for the liquidation of Egypt's debt (cf. Schölch, 90f.), see V-3(10)/1, 2 (24 Rab. II 1296).

[310] Cf. Schölch, 94; Butler 201.

[311] Schölch, 96.

[312] PRO, F.O. 78, vol. 3141 (Cairo, Feb. 25 1880), from Malet to the Marquis of Salisbury.

p. *Demands for reforms*

The reforms the khedive envisaged included a general limitation of public activities of the *ṭuruq* as well as the suppression of some of their more spectacular ritual practices, like the *dawsa* of al-Sa'diyya and forms of self-mutilation during *ḥaḍarāt* as practised, for instance, by al-Rifā'iyya and by al-'Īsawiyya.[313] A suppression of these practices, however, would strip the *ṭuruq*, and hence their members, of a part of their identity. Moreover, since to those participating it was particularly on these occasions that the group with which they had associated attained its utmost reality as a *ṭarīqa*, restrictions upon appearance in public would even come close to a general prohibition. At any rate it would have implications for their social status and influence, which would also affect the position of al-Bakrī. Al-Bakrī, therefore, did not show himself very responsive to these demands. Occasionally he felt obliged to take action in line with the khedive's desires, in particular when anything like snake-eating and self-mutilation during *ḥaḍarāt* was reported and criticized in the press. In such a case, to remain aloof would have brought him more discredit outside the *ṭuruq* realm than punitive measures against the *ṭuruq* officials implicated in such actions would have brought him inside it. This happened, for instance in 1880, when the Alexandrian daily newspaper "*Al-Maḥrūsa*",[314] published an account of the celebrations of a *mawlid* in that city.[315] On this occasion people had pierced themselves with skewers[316] during a *ḥaḍra*. Once the newspaper had drawn the attention of a wide public to these events al-Bakrī was compelled to do something. With much pomp the governor of Alexandria was asked to attend a council consisting of *ṭarīqa* officials and al-Bakrī's *wakil*. This council had to investigate the allegations of the newspaper

[313] Cf. Lane, 466ff.; Shafīq, i, 77f.

[314] As an Alexandrian daily it appeared from 1880 until 1886. Its editor-in-chief was Salīm al-Naqqāsh.

[315] In nos. 93 and 94 (1297); cf. V-35(15)/5 (20 Jum. II 1297).

[316] In the article in *Al-Maḥrūsa* the term *ḍarb al-silāḥ* is used. This technical term refers to the whole range of instruments with which members of some *ṭuruq* used to pierce themselves. For this purpose swords, short knives, needles and most commonly the so-called *dabbūs* (also known as *sīkh*) were used. This latter instrument consists of a metal or wooden ball of about four inches diameter, attached to an iron skewer resembling a knitting needle about 15 inches long. Attached to the circumference of the ball are a number of chains at the end of which are small pieces of metal resembling razor-blades. When, during the *ḥaḍra*, it is not put through parts of the body, it is spun around, so that the chains stand out like umbrella spokes.

and to punish those who had been engaged in the activities criticized by it, in the presence of the *qāḍī* and the *muftī* of the city.[317] The sole punishment demanded, however, was repentance in front of the council and an oath to be taken against recidivism,[318] Cases like these were exceptional and seem to have been intended primarily as merely outward demonstrations of al-Bakrī's acceptance of the need for reforms called for by the khedive and of his concern with their implementation. The khedive, who felt restrained from taking more decisive action himself in view of 'Alī al-Bakrī's personality and power position[319] deemed these occasional actions inadequate, as is shown by subsequent events.

q. *Summary*

During the era in which 'Alī al-Bakrī held the office of *shaykh al-sajjāda al-Bakriyya*, an administration developed which allowed for an optimal actualization of authority over the *ṭuruq* and *ṭuruq*- linked institutions given to the incumbent by the *firmān* of 1812. Central to this administration was the principle of right of *qadam*, by which it had become structured in a way that left the heads of the *ṭuruq* little choice but to accept a dependency relationship with al-Bakrī if they wanted their *ṭuruq*, and therefore themselves as heads of *ṭuruq*, to survive. In addition to this circumstance most of the heads of the *takāyā* in Cairo had become integrated within the administration, as had also a category of religious dignitaries, the *mashāyikh al-aḍriḥa*, i.e. the intendants of the most important Cairene shrines, which had become officially distinct only after a khedivial decree to this effect in 1276 (1859/60). The stability of this administration was vulnerable, however, since it had come to derive its legitimacy largely from 'Alī al-Bakrī's personality. Moreover, it would only continue to function effectively as long as those subject to and participating in this administration continued to perceive that its organic link with the government agencies contributed to their interests.

[317] See V-35(15)/5 (Jum. II 1297); V-36(16)/2 (same date).

[318] See V-35(15)/3 (20 Jum. II 1297).

[319] This was admitted by him to Butler, who was tutor to his sons; cf. Butler, 262.

CHAPTER THREE

THE CRISIS OF AUTHORITY

In October 1880 ʿAlī al-Bakrī died and his son ʿAbd al Bāqī was invested as successor by the khedive Tawfīq.[1] The new *shaykh al-sajjāda al-Bakriyya* had none of the distinguished qualities of his father, such as political importance or a reputation for learning[2] — although he did spend some years as a student at al-Azhar[3] — and since he was still only thirty years old he did not command the respect that age would have brought.

Immediate use was made by the khedive of the depreciation in the power position of the *shaykh al-sajjāda al-Bakriyya* and early in 1881 he issued a decree prohibiting the *dawsa*.[4] European consular representatives close to him would seem to have exercised some pressure upon the khedive in order to induce him to take action in this respect.[5] Incentives from elsewhere were absent however. Criticism of the *ṭuruq* was not voiced except in a few incidental publications[6] and had not yet found expression by any formal or informal organizations,

[1] For an eye-witness account of the ceremony of his investiture, see Butler, 222-232. See also *B.S.*, 139.

[2] Cf. Malortie, 315f.

[3] See *B.S.*, 138.

[4] I have not been able to find any indication that he had based his prohibition upon a *fatwā* issued by the *qāḍī al-quḍāt* in Egypt, as stated by F. M. Pareja (et. al.), *Islamologie*, Bayrouth 1957-63, 772. No mention is made of such a *fatwā* in Muḥammad ʿAbduh's articles in *Al-Ahrām* applauding the abolition of the *dawsa*; see Muḥammad Rashīd Riḍā, *Taʾrīkh al-Ustādh al-Imām al-Shaykh Muḥammad ʿAbduh*, iii vols., Cairo 1324-1350, ii, 147ff.

The account given by Butler, 262f., suggests that it was entirely the khedive's initiative, without any support from the religious establishment. Shortly after the proclamation of the khedivial decree, al-Bakrī was approached by members of al-Saʿdiyya requesting him to arrange exemption from this general prohibition for the *dawsa* during the *mawlid* of Sīdī Yūnis, the principle saint of al-Saʿdiyya in Egypt, to whom the *ṭarīqa* tradition ascribes the first performance of the *dawsa* over bottles. The request was not granted; cf. Riḍā, ii, 150.

[5] PRO, F.O. 78/3141 (Cairo 25 Feb. 1880), to the Marquis of Salisbury from E. Malet.

[6] E.g. in Wafā Muḥammad al-Qūnī al-Miṣrī, *Al-Radd al-Mubīn ʿalā ʾl-Jahala al-Mutaṣawwifīn*, Cairo 1293; and Ḥusayn al-Marṣafī, *Al-Kalim al-Thamān*, Cairo 1298/1881, 17f.



II. ʿAbd al-Bāqī al-Bakrī towards the end of his life.

while the religious establishment of al-Azhar had initially shown little enthusiasm for the proposed prohibition.[7] Therefore it would seem that the khedive's initiative was mainly the expression of a personal conviction,[8] which also led him to compel al-Bakrī to take further measures aiming at the elimination of other ritual practices conceived of as *bida'*.[9]

a. *The circular of 1881, its contents, implications and consequences*

The new head of the *ṭuruq* drew up a wide-ranging set of regulations to this effect.[10] It included a codification of some established administrative practices which had a direct bearing upon or implications for the regulations of ritual which were found in the majority of the articles laid down. This is the case with the first half of article 2, which states that it is forbidden to hold *mawālid* and other religious celebrations without permission from al-Bakrī or his deputies. Similarly, in article 15, the principle of exclusive *ṭarīqa* allegiance is restated, while in article 18 the required presence of a "duly authorized sheikh", i.e. a *khalīfa* confirmed as such by al-Bakrī, is codified. These two articles seem to have aimed, in particular, at reinforcing the local authority positions of the *khulafā'*, who were probably conceived of as principally responsible

[7] Butler, 262f.

[8] Here I have modified my earlier view as expressed in my paper 'Al-mashāyikh al-Bakriyya and the transformation of their authority in 19th century Egypt'. In this paper I attributed the khedive Tawfīq's initiative mainly to reformist and European pressure. The document referred to in note 5 provides some evidence for the exercise of pressure by European consular representatives. In addition, criticism as expressed, for instance, by Wafā Muḥammad al-Qūnī al-Miṣrī (see note 6) or by the *qāḍī* of al-Ismā'īliyya, of the practices of al-Rifā'iyya (cf. F.Or.A 283 I-72/1 (12 Raj. 1288)), in the period preceding Tawfīq's accession to the throne, may have influenced the khedive's attitudes towards these manifestations. This criticism cannot be considered reformist or modernist criticism inspired by and emanating from Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī, as it is generally understood. My earlier view from which I wish to dissociate myself, that pressure from this side must have been an important incentive for Tawfīq, was based upon an inference from Muḥammad 'Abduh's writings in *Al-Ahrām* (cf. Ridā, ii, 147ff.), applauding the khedive's measures.

[9] For a study of the concept of *bid'a*, its sub-classifications and the various theological and practical problems involved, see 'Izzat 'Alī 'Īd 'Aṭiyya, *Al-Bid'a, Taḥdīduhā wa Mawqif al-Islām minhā*, Cairo 1973.

[10] The text of this circular is only to be found in an English translation preserved at the Public Record Office, London, F.O. 78, vol. 3321 (Cairo Feb. 9 1881). I have not been able to locate the Arabic text in the archives of the Bakrī family consulted by me, now split up in at least five collections kept by various members of this family living in Cairo. For the complete text of this circular see appendix III, page 196. In addition to the following discussion see also the notes to this appendix.

for the implementation of most of the remaining regulations, as were likewise al-Bakrī's deputies. These, as appears from the articles 10 and 13, obtained a greater independent executive power than ever before, as the inevitable result of the expansion of the area over which al-Bakrī had come to hold jurisdiction.

The remaining articles contained prohibitions and restrictions which affected the identity of almost all the *ṭuruq*. For al-Sa'diyya, al-'Īsawiyya, al-Rifā'iyya and al-Qāsimiyya, for instance, the prohibition of the use of swords, the eating of live coals, serpents and glass (art. 3) had its consequences, while the prohibition of striking oneself with iron balls, practised by the leader of the *ḥaḍra* of al-Ḥandūshiyya,[11] eliminated a characteristic element of the ritual of this *ṭarīqa*.

By prohibiting singing during the *ḥaḍra* (art. 18) the liturgy of virtually all the *ṭuruq* was affected. In nearly every *ṭarīqa*, *anāshīd*, which were frequently unique to the *ṭarīqa*, were sung during the *ḥaḍra*. In many *ṭuruq* songs were also sung before and after it and were the inseparable elements of the total liturgy which would now become mutilated.[12]

Similarly, by restricting the *dhikr* to the praise of God (art. 1) a great many *ṭuruq* were affected, since this not only implied that invocations to the Prophet and to saints in the course of the *ḥaḍra* would no longer be allowed, but it also prohibited the *dhikr* of God by a short orgastic breath[13] as well as by the so-called *ism al-ṣadr*, a short "ah" characteristic of most of the Shadhiliyya *ṭuruq*.[14]

[11] These balls were attached to an iron chain or a rope and used to beat the head. Crapanzano's reference to this practice gives the impression that in Morocco any members of the *ṭarīqa* could indulge in this form of self-mutilation; cf. Crapanzano, 201. In Egypt, however, I was told that only the leader of the *ḥaḍra*, i.e. a fully initiated *khalīfa*, was entitled to do so, while ordinary members were merely allowed to slash their heads with the so-called *shaqūr*, a single-bladed iron axe. Since no other *ṭarīqa* knew this practice, its prohibition would seem to be directed against al-Ḥandūshiyya exclusively. Its explicit mention justifies the conclusion that it was commonly practised by the *ṭarīqa*'s members in Egypt in that time.

[12] In the poetical texts sung on these occasions mystical teachings and conceptions were expressed. These as well as other literary forms of mystical expression are discussed in 'Alī Ṣāfī Ḥusayn, *Al-Adab al-Ṣūfī fī Miṣr fī 'l-Qarn al-Sābi' al-Hijrī*, Cairo 1964. It contains an excellent introduction to the theology of a number of mystical schools which have remained important until the present day. Most of the poetry presented and analysed has not ceased to be part of the "ṭarīqa culture" in Egypt. A more comprehensive study of the various forms of mystical literary expression is Muḥammad Qandīl al-Baqlī, *Adab al-Darāwish*, Cairo 1970.

[13] For criticism of this and other forms of *dhikr* in which either the *ism al-jalāla* (*allāh*), any of the names of God, or the *taḥlīl* (the formula *lā ilāhā ilā allāh*) is contracted or pronounced with specific intonations, see Muṣṭafā Ḥasan al-'Asīlī, *Risālat al-Kashf wa 'l-Bayān fī 'l-Radd 'alā 'l-Muḥarrifīn fī Kalimāt al-Ikhlāṣ*, Cairo n.d.; Aḥmad Ibn Sharqāwī al-Khalifī (himself the founder of a Khalwatiyya order and a critic of overt and undisciplined manifestations of mysticism; see on him below p. 145), *Naṣīḥat al-Dhākirīn wa Irghām al-Mukābirīn*, preceded by *Shams al-Taḥqīq wa 'Urwat Ahl al-Tawfīq* by the same author, Cairo 1307; and a treatise by al-Sharqāwī's disciple Muḥammad Ḥasanayn Makhlūf al-'Adawī, *Al-Qawl al-Wathīq fī 'l-Radd 'alā Ad'iyā' al-Ṭarīq*, Cairo 1344. See in addition 'Imrān b. Aḥmad b. 'Imrān, *Nūr al-Bayān fī 'l-Kashf 'an Bida' Ākhir al-Zamān*, Cairo 1347, 103f.; 'Abd al-Qādir b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Shafshāwunī, *Salwat al-Ikhwān wa Nuṣrat al-Khullān fī Jami' al-Ṭawā'if al-A'yān*, Cairo 1293, 32ff.; and Ḥasan 'Abd al-Raḥmān, *Al-Qawl al-Maḥmūd fī Ibṭāl mā 'alayhi Ahl al-Ṭarīq min al-Adhkār wa 'l-'Uhūd*, Cairo 1916. The contents of this last pamphlet are particularly directed against a form of *dhikr* restricted to *al-ism al-mufrad* (*allāh*).

[14] This form of *dhikr* has been the subject of extensive polemics, see e.g. Muḥammad Aḥmad al-'Azīzī, *Al-Adilla al-Uṣūliyya fī 'l-Radd 'alā man ankara Dhikr al-Sāda al-Shādhiliyya*, Cairo 1342; Muḥammad Khaḍir al-Shādhilī, *Sabīl al-Tawfīq fī Radd al-Munkirīn 'alā Ahl al-Ṭarīq*, Cairo 1338; Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Muḥsin, *Murshid al-Sālikīn ilā Ṭarīq al-Muhtadīn*, Cairo 1346; 'Imrān Aḥmad 'Imrān, *Suyūf al-Murīdīn fī Nuḥūr al-Munkirīn*, Alexandria (1317?).

[15] A cloak-like garment, made of cotton or wool.

[16] For its rules cf. al-Barmūnī, 277.

[17] Cf. Brunel, 93ff. for a complete description.

[18] *Ibid.* 96.

[19] Cf. Riḍā, ii, 145; al-Mulayjī, 257ff.; and Muḥammad Muḥammad Mashīna, *Al-Qawl al-Ma'rūf fī Aḥkām al-Ḍarb bi'l-Dufūf*, Cairo 1365.

[20] The use of various kinds of drums in mosques, however, had already been prohibited since the end of 1880, following the issue of a *fatwā* by the then *shaykh al-Azhar* and *muftī* of Egypt, Muḥammad al-Mahdī al-'Abbāsī, condemning this practice; cf. Riḍā, ii, 144.

Of these *ṭuruq*, moreover, some would no longer be allowed to practice their own distinctive rituals (art. 26), which gave them their identity and justified their existence. For al-'Arūsiyya this was the so-called "*dhikr al-munāwaba*" (alternating *dhikr*) in which the participants, wearing special white ritual *'abā'āt* (*'abāyāt*),[15] stood in two groups facing each other and bowing towards each other in turn, giving the whole group a wavelike movement.[16] The 'Īsawiyya had their own complicated ritual,[17] in which at one stage — the so-called *rabbānī* (*rbbānī*) — the participants jumped up and down from one foot to the other,[18] which would also be affected.

In the *ḥaḍarāt* of the Shādhiliyya *ṭuruq*, as well as in the majority of the other *ṭuruq*, various kinds of drums were used. In some *ṭuruq* these drums, in addition to being instruments which sometimes had a specific function in a *ṭarīqa*'s ritual, had distinctive shapes and sizes which also made them symbols of these *ṭuruq*.[19] Here, too, the prohibition against using these instruments on all occasions (art. 5) — except for some special ones inside the *takāyā*[20] —, implied a deprivation of identity for the *ṭarīqa* concerned.

In processions, moreover, the members of the participating *ṭuruq* would not be allowed to carry anything but their banners with them (art. 17). The display of other paraphernalia distinctive to a *ṭarīqa*, like musical instruments, swords etc., as well as braziers, *mashā'il* and *'uṣīy*[21] was henceforth prohibited. The consequences of this would seem to be similar to the other proposed restrictions.

In addition, the celebration of *mawālid* for which there had been no precedent was prohibited (arts. 2 and 10), while *mawālid* inaugurated during the last ten years (art. 22) were abolished. The implications of this prohibition went much further than an enforced restriction of the number of deceased *mashāyikh* honoured in this way. It meant a restriction of the number of occasions on which the *ṭuruq* could manifest themselves to the wider society and on which the *ṭarīqa* reached the utmost reality for those who constituted it, in a total union of the living and the dead. Substantial grace was believed to ensue from mere participation on these occasions. Therefore, in the final resort, the prohibition must have been experienced not only as a restriction on a number of occasions on which grace could be obtained, but as a limitation on the very flow of grace itself. Moreover, it was a prohibition against honouring persons from whom, dead or alive, grace could be secured owing to their participation in its divine flow. Therefore, from this point of view also, the prohibition could be regarded in the final resort as a prohibition of participation in grace itself.

Besides these regulations, three others were included setting limitations on the internal autonomy of the heads of the *ṭuruq*, something for which there had been no precedent. From now on complaints respecting the affairs of a *ṭarīqa* by any of those belonging to it could only be dealt with by al-Bakrī or his *wukalā'* (art. 13), who thereby obtained greater independent executive power. The right of the head of a *ṭarīqa* to sanction the *ṭarīqa*'s officials by suspension was also taken away from him; he now had to submit the motives for the proposed suspension to al-Bakrī. The latter could either give his approval or arrange for a tribunal to be convened, which had to examine the case in order to arrive at a decision respecting appropriate sanction (art. 11).

In addition, the authority of the heads of the *ṭuruq* was undermined by article 9, which denied them the right to punish *khulafā'* by taking away their *'idda* (*'udda*). As a sanction this must have been highly effective, since it deprived the *khalīfa* of the symbols of his dignity. This

[21] On a *khalīfa*'s equipment, see chapter I, note 8.

would seriously hamper the *khalīfa* in his activities, and would affect his income, since it would be impossible for him to accept invitations to walk, for a fee, with flags in circumcision, marriage and funeral processions,[22] or to stage a *ḥaḍra* for compensation in money or kind, at the request of anyone not connected with a *ṭarīqa*.[23] Moreover, the income which the *khulafā'* used to derive in this way was endangered by the prohibition of participation of the *ṭuruq* in the aforementioned processions as contained in article 24. The last clause of article 9, deprived them of another additional source of income by prohibiting them from hiring out or pawning items of their *'idda* to those not belonging to their *ṭarīqa*. For outsiders, in turn, temporary possession of the *'idda*, provided the means of securing an income in the way indicated above.[24]

Early in 1881 a circular containing these regulations was sent to the heads of the *ṭuruq*.[25] Until then it had been to their advantage to recognize al-Bakrī's authority over them. The fact that it was structured by its dependence on government institutions had contributed to the safeguarding of their vested interests. Now, however, these institutions had to see to the implementation of a set of rules violating the normative system proper to the *ṭuruq*. To this the heads of the *ṭuruq* responded by dissociating themselves from the *ṭuruq* administration. Disputes about succession, double membership, rights to organize the celebrations of a certain *mawlid*, etc., gradually tended to be solved informally without recourse to al-Bakrī, and hence without involving government agents.[26]

b. *The inadequate maintenance of rights of qadam*

In addition to this, government agents discontinued their unconditional support of the *ṭuruq* administration in the course of the eighties, as is exemplified by the case of Ḥasanayn al-Ḥiṣāfī and his adherents and by the case of the re-emergence of al-'Ināniyya.

Ḥasanayn al-Ḥiṣāfī (1265-1328: 1848/9-1910) had been initiated

[22] Cf. Lane, 519, 522. See also chapter IV, page 167f.
[23] The so-called *layla*; see chapter IV, page 159f. and notes 147 and 148.
[24] This is suggested by the very inclusion of the clause itself.
[25] See note 10 above for particulars.
[26] See e.g. the agreement about succession to the office of *khalīfat al-maqām al-Aḥmadī* reproduced in *Taqrir 'an Waẓīfat al-Khilāfa bi'l-Maqām al-Aḥmadī*, n.p., n.d., p. 12, document 12. See also *Mudhakkira ... min Shaykh 'Umūm al-Sāda al-Rifā'iyya*, p. 14, document 3 (25 Jum. I 1304) and p. 17, document 6 (17 Raj. 1304).

into al-Fāsiyya al-Shādhiliyya by the founder of this *ṭarīqa*, Muḥammad al-Fāsī (see below p. 107), when in Mecca for the pilgrimage in 1872.[27] After his return to Egypt he engaged in proselytization on behalf of this *ṭarīqa* in al-Sharqiyya province. Originally, his activities were confined to the town of al-Zaqāzīq, an urban centre where the principle of right of *qadam* did not apply, and where his adherents manifested themselves without interference.[28] At a later stage, however, when he succeeded in gaining a substantial following in the villages around this town, he met with serious opposition from those belonging to the *ṭuruq* with established interests in the area.[29] A protest against the infringements by al-Ḥiṣāfī and his adherents was sent to al-Bakrī, who took action in conformity with established practice in early 1884:[30] he prohibited their participation in *mawālid* and religious gatherings of any kind as well as all *ḥaḍarāt* organized by them in mosques. The governor of al-Sharqiyya province, as well as al-Bakrī's *wukalā'* and the village headmen in the area where al-Ḥiṣāfī's adherents were concentrated, received instructions accordingly. The village headmen, moreover, were required to prevent al-Ḥiṣāfī and his *khulafā'* from entering their villages.[31] This edict did not pass unchallenged. A pamphlet was drawn up in which al-Ḥiṣāfī elaborated upon the *dhikr* of God and showed the unlawfulness of prohibiting it, particularly in mosques[32] as implied by the prohibition of *ḥaḍarāt* issued by al-Bakrī. His arguments met with approval from the governor of al-Sharqiyya, who subsequently revoked earlier instructions and now prohibited any obstruction of the activities of al-Ḥiṣāfī and his adherents.[33] However, opposition by al-Bakrī and those under his jurisdiction continued in full force. This led al-Ḥiṣāfī to make an unprecedented move: armed with testimonials from numerous provincial dignitaries as witness to his orthodoxy, he adressed a complaint to the khedive

[27] 'Alī al-Ja'farāwī, *Al-Manhal al-Ṣāfī fī Manāqib al-Sayyid Ḥasanayn al-Ḥiṣāfī*, Cairo 1330, 30. For his biography, see also Mujāhid, *A'lām*, iii, 101f. Al-Ḥiṣāfī was buried at Damanhūr, where his shrine-mosque may be visited today.

[28] Al-Ja'farāwī, 32.

[29] *Ibid.*

[30] According to al-Ja'farāwī, *Manhal*, 33, al-Bakrī took action at the time when Thābit Bāshā was *nāẓir* (of the Ministry of Interior), i.e. from January 10, 1884 until March 10, 1884; cf. Fu'ād Karam, *Al-Niẓārāt wa'l-Wizārāt al-Miṣriyya*, Cairo 1969, i, 128.

[31] Al-Ja'farāwī, 35.

[32] *Ibid.*, 36f.

[33] Cf. *ibid.*, 39.

Muḥammad Tawfīq[34] about the opposition of those belonging to *ṭuruq* recognized by al-Bakrī. The khedive passed the matter on to the *shaykh al-Azhar* and *muftī* of Egypt, Muḥammad al-Mahdī al-'Abbāsī who, in an interview with al-Bakrī, hinted at the possibility of the eruption of a conflict in which al-Azhar might become involved, since many Azharīs supported al-Ḥiṣāfī. This convinced al-Bakrī of the desirability of a compromise. He agreed to discussions, in the presence of the *shaykh al-Azhar*, with al-Ḥiṣāfī about the position of himself and his adherents within the *ṭuruq* realm. These resulted in the suspension of all measures taken against al-Ḥiṣāfī and his disciples. More significantly, they resulted in the declaration by al-Bakrī that he had no authority over this group whatsoever,[35] which was an implicit confirmation of al-Ḥiṣāfī as head of an independent *ṭarīqa*, later to become known as al-Ḥiṣāfiyya al-Shādhiliyya.[36]

The re-emergence of al-'Ināniyya[37] manifested itself in al-Daqahliyya and al-Sharqiyya provinces.[38] Here, groups of al-'Ināniyya — a *ṭarīqa* which had remained external to al-Bakrī's administration owing to the fact that its head was one of the four *arbāb al-sajājīd*, over whom the *shaykh al-sajjāda al-Bakriyya* had no authority — had been functioning officially as part of al-Rifā'iyya, thus allowing their *khulafā'* to claim right of *qadam* and all that this implied. Some of these

[34] *Ibid.* For the text of the complaint see al-Ja'farāwī, 61ff.

[35] *Ibid.*, 40.

[36] A schismatic sub-section of this *ṭarīqa* in al-Maḥmūdiyya (al-Baḥayra province), which was set up as a benevolent organization, the *Jam'iyya al-Ḥiṣāfiyya al-Khayriyya*, was the root and fore-runner of the *Ikhwān al-Muslimīn*; cf. Ḥasan al-Bannā', *Mudhakkirāt al-Da'wa wa'l-Dā'iya*, Cairo n.d., 16, 46; R. P. Mitchell, *The Society of the Muslim Brothers*, London 1969, 2.

[37] By this time al-Khuḍayriyya had disappeared from history not to re-emerge again until the 1940's under the leadership of Aḥmad al-Khuḍayrī (d. 1945), a descendant of Sīdī Sulaymān al- uḍayrī. According to Ṣafā' al-Dīn Aḥmad al-Khuḍayrī, the *ṭarīqa*'s *shaykh al-sajjāda* since 1968, its decline in this period and after was mainly due to neglect and the lack of interest of the then *shaykh ḍarīḥ al-Khuḍayrī*, Muḥammad Muḥammad al-Khuḍayrī [cf. I-87/7 (19 Ḥijja 1288)], who is also held responsible for mismanagement and dissipation of *awqāf* established in favour of al-Khuḍayriyya and the shrine of al-Khuḍayrī. The negative opinion held about this *shaykh* by the members of the present-day Khuḍayriyya seems to find an expression in the fact that his name is omitted from the *silsila* in the *ijāzāt* of the *ṭarīqa*, where Aḥmad (d. 1945) succeeds Muḥammad Qāsim (d. 1288: 1872), thus leaving a span of about 73 years between their respective dates of death.

[38] The following account is primarily based upon the article 'Aḥkām al-Majlis al-Ṣūfī al-A'lā', in *Al-Jarida al-Qaḍā'iyya*, ii/9 (Cairo 1931), 9-14. Le Chatelier mentions this conflict, but misrepresents its real nature; cf. Le Chatelier, *Confréries*, 208.

groups, however, started to manifest themselves publicly again as belonging to al-ʿInāniyya while their *khulafāʾ* engaged in proselytization on behalf of this *ṭarīqa*. This generated violent obstruction by members of al-Rifāʿiyya at the local level and protests from the head of this order who maintained that al-ʿInāniyya could not be considered a *ṭarīqa*; he declared that those who constituted this group were not linked by a mystical bond (*biʾl-ʿuhūd*) but by mere blood relationship (*biʾl-judūd*) and that this family group was part of al-Rifāʿiyya and subject to his jurisdiction as evidenced by the fact that its members took part in processions with flags and standards in black, the colour exclusively reserved for al-Rifāʿiyya. Thus, he implied that al-ʿInāniyya as a *ṭarīqa* should be considered a secessionist movement, against which appropriate action should be taken since it infringed upon rights of *qadam* of al-Rifāʿiyya.

The suzerainty claimed was not accepted by the *shaykh al-sajjāda al-ʿInāniyya*, Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Wāḥid al-Ḥarīrī, who was intendant to the shrines of Awlād ʿInān and also *imām* of the khedive Tawfīq. At the end of 1885, al-Ḥarīrī, who must have wanted to bypass al-Bakrī, in order to prevent the re-emerging ʿInāniyya from being dealt with and checked as an ordinary infringement of rights of *qadam*, presented his case directly to the Ministry of Interior. Subsequently, the Ministry arranged for a council to be convened in order to investigate the legality of the claims made by al-Ḥarīrī and his opponent the *shaykh al-sajjāda al-Rifāʿiyya*. This council, which consisted of a number of heads of the *ṭuruq*, the *takāyā* and the *aḍriḥa*, and in which ʿAbd al-Bāqī al-Bakrī and ʿAbd al-Khāliq al-Sādāt were also asked to participate, was presided over by the *shaykh al-Azhar* and *muftī* of Egypt, Muḥammad al-Mahdī al-ʿAbbāsī. Both parties were able to present their arguments which were discussed in a number of sessions. Finally, in March 1886, the council judged that al-ʿInāniyya was a *ṭarīqa* distinct from and with no link whatsoever with al-Rifāʿiyya, with a *silsila* of its own, of which the authenticity was beyond doubt, going back to ʿUmar Ibn al-Khaṭṭāb. Moreover, it was decided that, like al-Rifāʿiyya, al-ʿInāniyya had the right to use black as its distinctive colour since, as far as could be established, it had always done so. This verdict confirmed implicitly that the offices of *shaykh al-sajjāda al-ʿInāniyya* and head of the *ṭarīqa al-ʿInāniyya* were identical and gave legality to al-ʿInāniyya as a *ṭarīqa* equal in every respect to the other *ṭuruq*.

Although this verdict had been reached in mutual consultation by

members of the council unanimously, its decision had legal validity primarily because it was sanctioned by the *shaykh al-Azhar* to whom the Ministry of the Interior had delegated supreme jurisdiction in this case. In this manner a precedent had been established for the approval of the *shaykh al-Azhar* as a pre-requisite for any candidate to be invested by the khedive as *shaykh al-sajjāda al-ʿInāniyya*, from Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Wāḥid's successor onwards.

The involvement of the *shaykh al-Azhar* in this case and also in the case of the Shādhiliyya *ṭarīqa* under the leadership of al-Ḥiṣāfī about two years earlier, was clearly an infringement of the agreement of 1847 between the *shaykh al-Azhar* and the *shaykh al-sajjāda al-Bakriyya*. This suggests the *de facto* abrogation of this agreement and constitutes another indication of the changing relationship between the *ṭuruq* administration and the agencies of the State. This change should be attributed to the fact that the reorganization of the State's administration in the wake of the British occupation in 1882 (see below p. 121)[39] had given it so much efficiency that the *ṭuruq* administration lost its significance for the State and its agencies. Subsequently, these must have ceased to act fully in support of the *ṭuruq* administration, even when, as in the cases mentioned, this was of direct relevance to the adequate maintenance of rights of *qadam*.

In the wake of these developments, al-Bakrī now seems to have adopted a different approach towards infringement of rights of *qadam* by *ṭuruq* which had only been active in Egypt comparatively recently and only in some of the towns — as in the case of the Shādhiliyya *ṭarīqa* under al-Ḥiṣāfī — and by groups comparable to al-ʿInāniyya, which had developed into, or had always been, distinctive *ṭuruq* inside the *ṭuruq* integrated within al-Bakrī's administration. Presumably in order to prevent conflicts similar to the foregoing, which might have entailed a repetition of the involvement of the *shaykh al-Azhar* and a depreciation of his own authority position in consequence, and from a realistic appreciation of the irreversibility of the changes which were taking place, al-Bakrī granted official recognition to all *ṭuruq* which had successfully taken advantage of inadequate maintenance of rights of *qadam* — and possibly of the disintegration of the guilds as the

[39] Cf. R. L. Tignor, *Modernization and British Colonial Rule in Egypt, 1882-1914*, Princeton 1966, chapter 6, *passim*; The Earl of Cromer, *Modern Egypt*, ii vols., London 1908, ii, 415ff.

principal form of social organization — and had become *ṭuruq* of a certain significance.[40]

Recognition of these *ṭuruq* was not only advantageous for al-Bakrī in that it upheld his authority position, but also for the heads of these *ṭuruq* and their members. For these it implied official status for their *ṭuruq* and all that this entailed of rights of *qadam*, which were not being abandoned but only inadequately maintained. Additional privileges included participation in official celebrations of religious festivals like the *mawlid al-nabī*, which gave these *ṭuruq* a degree of social prominence and could lead to an increase in membership; and a share in the customary payments from the *Muḥāfaẓa* and the *Dīwān al-Māliyya*. These payments continued to be made to al-Bakrī and were distributed by him to the heads of the officially recognized *ṭuruq* until the first decade of the 20th century.[41]

All these changes which affected the *ṭuruq* realm and extended over most of the period in which 'Abd al-Bāqī al-Bakrī held office, resulted for the *mashāyikh al-ṭuruq* in a significant change in the institutional safeguards against secession. For them the way in which the principle of *qadam* had structured al-Bakrī's administration and determined its functioning within Egyptian society had made participation in this administration highly attractive since it consolidated the position of their *ṭuruq* in the countryside as well as their own positions as *mashāyikh ṭuruq*. When, however, the principle of right of *qadam* ceased being universally adhered to — as was manifested by the fact that these rights were not adequately maintained any more — legality of tenure, which was implied in formal appointment by the *shaykh al-sajjāda al-Bakriyya*, took precedence over the principle of right of *qadam* as the main institutional safeguard against secession, since legality of tenure was concomitantly a confirmation of the legality of the *ṭarīqa* whose existence as a single, unique and indivisible unity, was thereby officially recognized. Whenever a group declared itself independent from such a *ṭarīqa*, the head of the parent *ṭarīqa* could continue to claim authority over the secessionist group, as long as al-Bakrī continued to deal with this group, and to consider

[40] For an enumeration of the *ṭuruq* which were under al-Bakrī's authority (*al-tābi'a li-mashyakhat al-sāda al-Bakriyya*) by 1305 (1887/8), see *Khiṭ.*, iii, 129f. The *ṭuruq* which appear in this enumeration and which had obtained al-Bakrī's recognition only in the preceding year or so, are dealt with in the following section.

[41] Cf. F.Or.A. 285, II-90/2 (25 Jan. 1907); 106/5 (12 April 1907); 111/1 (Jan. 1908); 116/1 (25 Feb. 1909); 119/11 (29 Nov. 1910).

it as part of the parent *ṭarīqa* whose integrity he had confirmed when he appointed a candidate as its head. This also implied that once a *ṭarīqa* which had not participated in the administration previously, obtained official recognition by such an appointment by al-Bakrī, the newly-appointed head obtained a legal base which would allow him to claim authority over other pretenders to the *ṭarīqa*'s leadership.

These implications of legality of tenure became increasingly important for the heads of the *ṭuruq* when adequate maintenance of rights of *qadam* had ceased, and accounts for what must have been a normative re-orientation among them: they no longer aspired to formal appointment by the *shaykh al-sajjāda al-Bakriyya* as head of an administration safeguarding the integrity of their *ṭuruq* because of the way in which the administration was structured around the principle of right of *qadam*, but now, because the appointment itself, implying legality of tenure, was becoming the pre-eminent safeguard against secession.

c. *The new ṭuruq, their leaders, their spread, their recognition*

Among the *ṭuruq* which obtained official recognition from 'Abd al-Bāqī al-Bakrī, was the Shādhiliyya order into which Ḥasanayn al-Ḥiṣāfī had been initiated and in which he had originally been active as a *khalīfa*. This *ṭarīqa* had been founded by Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Fāsī (d. 1289: 1872), a Moroccan living in Mecca,[42] who had originally been among the *khulafā'* of al-Madaniyya (see next paragraph). Al Fāsī's *ṭarīqa* was known as al-Fāsiyya, and later, under the leadership of his son and successor, Muḥammad Shams al-Dīn al-Makkī al-Fāsī,[43] it was also known as al-Makkiyya al-Fāsiyya, or simply as al-Makkiyya. Both the founder and his son visited Egypt. The father had been there in 1289 (1872) and Muḥammad Shams al-Dīn in 1293 (1876), when they had gained many followers, notably in Cairo and Suways.[44] By 1876, however, al-Ḥiṣāfī and his followers, who were concentrated in and around al-Zaqāzīq and in Cairo,[45] had moved away from the original Fāsiyya by condemning the *dhikr* by the *ism al-ṣadr*,[46]

[42] For his biography see Maḥmūd 'Afīf al-Dīn al-Wafā'ī, *Ma'āhid al-Taḥqiq fī Radd al-Munkirīn 'alā Ahl al-Ṭarīq*, Cairo 1960, 144ff.

[43] For biographical notes see al-Kūhin, 194f.

[44] Al-Wafā'ī, *ibid*; al-Kūhin, *ibid.*

[45] Al-Ja'farāwī, 32.

[46] Cf. notes 14 and 15. For opinions of Azharī *'ulamā'* about the *ism al-ṣadr*, cf. al-Ja'farāwī, 99ff.

which was part of the *ṭarīqa*'s liturgical practice, as unlawful.[47] Two years later, he further amended al-Fāsiyya by incorporating into his Way elements of al-Tijāniyya,[48] into which he had been initiated by Aḥmad al-Bannānī in 1295 (1878).[49] These deviations which met with strong condemnation from the adherents and *khulafā'* of Muḥammad Shams al-Dīn al-Makkī al-Fāsī,[50] generated a schism of the group led by Ḥasanayn al-Ḥiṣāfī, who obtained legality as head of a *ṭarīqa* not subject to al-Bakrī's jurisdiction as outlined in the preceding section. This schism, however, does not seem to have been detrimental to the spread of al-Makkiyya (al-Fāsiyya) proper, which was propagated successfully by the *khulafā'* of the *ṭarīqa* in Egypt, notably by Maḥmūd 'Afīf al-Dīn al-Wafā'ī (1264-1318: 1848-1900/1), who spread it in and around Ṭanṭā;[51] by Aḥmad 'Arab, who was mainly active in and south of Cairo;[52] and by 'Abd al-Bāqī who spread the *ṭarīqa* in the capital and further north.[53] About 'Abd al-Bāqī little more is known than that he obtained al-Bakrī's recognition as supreme head of al-Makkiyya in Egypt.[54]

Al-Madaniyya, of which Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Fāsī had originally been a *khalīfa*, took its name from Muḥammad Ḥasan b.

[47] *Ibid.*, 33.

[48] He made a communal reading of *al-waẓīfa al-Tijāniyya* obligatory on Saturday night for the members of this *ṭarīqa*.

[49] *Ibid.*, 42. For biographies see 'Abd al-Karīm al-'Aṭṭār, *Ta'rīkh al-Ṭarīqa al-Tijāniyya al-Musharrafa*, Cairo 4ff.; Aḥmad Sukayrij, *Kashf al-Ḥijāb 'an man talāqā ma' al-Tijānī min al-Aṣḥāb*, Cairo 1381, 188f. In addition al-Ḥiṣāfī was initiated into al-Khalwatiyya (al-Ja'farāwī, 30) by Ḥusayn Ḥasan al-Muṣaylihī (d. 1284: 1867/8); into al-'Arabiyya al-Shādhiliyya by Muḥammad 'Illaysh in 1293 (1876); into another Shādhiliyya branch by Ḥasan al-'Idwī in 1298 (1880/1) (al-Ja'farāwī, 48); into al-Aḥmadiyya by Muḥammad Ibrāhīm Khuḍayr al-Dimyāṭī in 1297 (1879/80) (al-Ja'farāwī, 30); and into al-Naqshbandiyya by Aḥmad b. Aḥmad 'Abd al-Qādir al-Ḥalabī (al-Ja'farāwī, 51f.).

[50] Al-Ja'farāwī, 33f.

[51] Cf. his biography prefaced to Maḥmūd b. 'Afīf al-Dīn b. 'Alī al-Wafā'ī, *Al-Rawḍa al-Shādhiliyya fī 'l-Maqāmāt al-Islāmiyya*, Cairo 1316.

[52] He initiated the son of Muḥammad Shams al-Dīn, Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh Shams al-Dīn (d. 1968), who about a quarter of a century later claimed supreme leadership over al-Fāsiyya in the Islamic world; cf. the *silsila* in MS Leiden Or. 14431/II.

[53] I owe the information about the areas where the two last-named *khalīfa*s were active to the principal *khalīfa* of the *ṭarīqa* in Egypt in the 1960's, Aḥmad Abū 'l-Qurrā, whom I met and talked with on several occasions shortly before his death in 1969.

[54] This appears from the list of guests invited by al-Bakrī to the *mawlid al-nabī* celebrations in 1298 (1881) [cf. F.Or.A. 283, V-26(6)], where he appears as head of the *ṭarīqa*. He is not mentioned in any of the *salāsil* in *ijāzāt* of present-day *khulafā'* of al-Fāsiyya that I have been able to consult. In the oral tradition of this *ṭarīqa* he merely figures as a *khalīfa*.

Ḥamza Ẓāfir al-Madanī (d. 1263: 1846),[55] a disciple of Mawlay al-'Arabī al-Darqāwī (d. 1239: 1823), founder of the Moroccan Darqāwiyya order.[56] In Egypt *khulafā'* of al-Madaniyya had been active already in the era of 'Alī al-Bakrī. The most noteworthy propagators of the *ṭarīqa*, were 'Abd al-Qādir b. 'Abd al-Salām (d. 1297: 1880),[57] Muḥammad al-Hāshimī (d. 1911)[58] and Muḥammad Yūsuf al-Marzūqī (1246-1319: 1830/31-1901/2).[59]

The first of these was a Libyan who had been initiated by the *ṭarīqa*'s founder and was sent by him to Alexandria to proselytize. He accomplished this task successfully, and apparently contented himself with consolidating his position in that area without taking advantage of the disruption of al-Bakrī's administration to embark upon proselytization in regions which had been closed to this *ṭarīqa*.

The last two *khalīfa*s, however, both of whom were *khalīfa*s of al-Madanī's son Muḥammad Ẓāfir (1244-1321: 1828-1903),[60] acted differently. Initially Muḥammad al-Hāshimī, as a propagator of al-Madaniyya, had been active in the central and north-western Delta. In the course of his career however, he amended the original Madaniyya into a new and distinctive *ṭarīqa* of his own, which he spread so successfully in the same area that he obtained al-Bakrī's recognition as head of an independent *ṭarīqa* known as al-Hāshimiyya.

[55] For a biography see 'Abd al-Qādir Zakī, *Al-Nafḥa al-'Aliyya fī Awrād al-Shādhiliyya*, Cairo 1321, 233-5.

[56] Trimingham, *Sufi Orders*, 110ff.

[57] For his biography see Muḥammad 'Abd al-Qādir Zayn al-'Ābidīn, *Dalīl al-Ḥā'ir wa Rafīq al-Sā'ir fī Ṭarīq Sīdī 'Abd al-Qādir*, Alexandria 1340. See also Muḥammad al-Bashīr Ẓāfir, *Al-Yawāqīt al-Thamīna fī A'yān Madhhab 'Ālim al-Madīna*, Alexandria (?) 1324/5, 214. and Le Chatelier, *Confréries*, 114. Sīdī 'Abd al-Qādir was buried in Alexandria, where his shrine may be visited in a mosque named after him in the quarter of Minyā al-Baṣal.

[58] Perhaps superfluously, I may note that this *shaykh* is not identical with the propagator of the 'Alawī Darqāwī order in Syria and head of its *zāwiya* in Damascus, who had the same name; cf. M. Lings, *A Moslem Saint of the Twentieth Century*, London 1961, *passim*. No published biography of the Egyptian Muḥammad al-Hāshimī exists. The data on his career given below have been derived from oral accounts by the present-day head of al-Hāshimiyya al-Shādhiliyya, Muḥammad Ṭāhā, who lives in the village of Balaqṭar in al-Buḥayra province (*markaz* Abū Ḥummuṣ) and by one of the *ṭarīqa*'s *khulafā'* in Alexandria, al-Ḥājj 'Alī al-Ḥurayshī.

[59] For a biography by his son Maḥmūd, see Muḥammad Yūsuf al-Marzūqī, *Al-Fuyūḍāt al-Raḥmāniyya*, *Sharḥ al-Waẓīfa al-Madaniyya*, Cairo 1940, 236f. Muḥammad Yūsuf al-Marzūqī and several of his descendants are buried in a *ḥawsh* in the Qarāfat al-Mujāwirīn near to the shrine-mosque of 'Abd Allāh al-Sharqāwī.

[60] For a biography see Zakī, *Al-Nafḥa*, 235ff. He was one of the *ṭarīqa* leaders who were protégés of the Ottoman Sultan 'Abd al-Ḥamīd II; cf. [Ibrāhīm al-Muwayliḥī], *Mā Hunālika*, Cairo 1896, 199ff.

At about the same time Muḥammad Yūsuf al-Marzūqī (d. 1901) was recognised as head of al-Madaniyya in Egypt. This *khalīfa* had been active particularly in and around Cairo, where he founded a *zāwiya* in 1275 (1858/59).[61] After 1881, however, the *ṭarīqa* spread further south in al-Jīza province and to the north in and around Qalyūb.[62]

Other Shādhiliyya *ṭuruq* which were able to expand in this era and which obtained official recognition from ʿAbd al-Bāqī al-Bakrī, were al-Qāwuqajiyya, al-Idrīsiyya, al-Jawhariyya, and al-ʿArabiyya. The first of these, al-Qāwuqajiyya, had been founded by Muḥammad b. Khalīl al-Qāwuqajī known as Abū 'l-Maḥāsin (1224-1305 : 1809-1887). He had been initiated into various *ṭuruq*, but considered Muḥammad al-Bahī (d. 1260 : 1844),[63] an Egyptian *khalīfa* of the Nāṣiriyya branch of al-Shādhiliyya, as his principal teacher. Abū 'l-Maḥāsin was an itinerant *shaykh*. Every year he used to spend four months in turn in Cairo, Beirut and Mecca, in which last city he died.[64]

In Egypt the growth of the *ṭarīqa* had been chiefly owing to the activities of one of Abū 'l-Maḥāsin's *khulafā'*, Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Raḥīm al-Nushshābī (1266-1337 : 1850-1918/19),[65] who spread the *ṭarīqa* in and around Ṭanṭā, and to another *khalīfa*, Muḥammad Khafājī (1277-1359 : 1860/61-1940), who was active in the northern Delta, notably in and around Dimyāṭ.[66] In Cairo it was one of Abū 'l-Maḥāsin's sons, Muḥammad Abū 'l-Fatḥ (d. 1927), who was the

[61] This information is derived from a framed calligraphed list, hanging in this *zāwiya* in the Ḥāra al-Jūdariyya in Cairo. It enumerates the principal events in the history of the *ṭarīqa*.

[62] In this era, according to oral tradition of the *ṭarīqa*, *zawāyā* were established south of Cairo in Badrashīn and al-Marāzīq, and to the north in Siryāqūs, Bāsūs and Dijwa, where al-Marzūqī was born. No documentary evidence in support of this tradition is available. However, the fact that the villages mentioned are situated in areas where the *ṭarīqa* had an active membership about 1970, seems to corroborate it.

[63] Cf. ʿAbd al-Ḥayy al-Kattānī, *Fihris al-Fahāris wa 'l-Ithbāt wa Muʿjam al-Maʿājim wa 'l-Mashyakhāt wa 'l-Musalsalāt*, iii vols., Fez 1347, ii, 289 ff. Muḥammad al-Bahī was buried at Ṭanṭā where his shrine (-mosque) may be visited today.

[64] For his biography see ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Adhamī, *Tarjamat Quṭb al-Wāṣilīn wa Ghawth al-Sālikīn Muḥammad Abū 'l-Maḥāsin al-Qāwuqajī*, Beirut 1306; and also Yūsuf Ismāʿīl al-Nabhānī, *Jāmiʿ Karāmāt al-Awliyā'*, ii vols., Cairo 1329, i, 244.

[65] For biographical notes, cf. ʿAlī Muḥammad Sālim al-Ikhnāwayī, *Al-Anwār al-Munbalija fī Takhmīs al-Munfarrija*, Cairo 1339, 3 f.

[66] Cf. Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Munʿim Khafājī, *Al-Turāth al-Rūḥī li'l-Taṣawwuf al-Islāmī fī Miṣr*, Cairo n.d., 194 ff.

ṭarīqa's principal propagator and representative. Against his father's will he obtained al-Bakrī's recognition as head of al-Qāwuqajiyya in Egypt.[67] This allowed him to claim authority over the other *khulafā'*, who had gradually transformed the groups led by them into *ṭuruq* distinct from and almost independent of the parent *ṭarīqa*.

Al-Idrīsiyya, had been founded by Aḥmad b. Idrīs (1173-1253 : 1760-1837), a Moroccan who had been particularly active as a teacher and *ṭarīqa* leader in Mecca.[68] In the middle of the 19th century it had found its way into Egypt where the *ṭarīqa*'s main propagators were Muḥammad al-Fārisī in Cairo and Mūsā Āghā Rāsim[69] in Alexandria. Both had been initiated by Aḥmad b. Idrīs's successor Ibrāhīm al-Rashīd al-Diwayhī (1228-1291 : 1813-1874)[70] and presented the *ṭarīqa* under the name of al-Rashīdiyya al-Aḥmadiyya al-Idrīsiyya in reverence to their master.[71] Under its original name it was propagated by one of Muḥammad al-Fārisī's *khulafā'*, ʿAlī Abū 'l-Nūr al-Jirbī (1853-1934), an *ʿālim* of repute and a highly successful preacher.[72] These qualities, no doubt, accounted for the success of his proselytization and his emergence as the *ṭarīqa*'s pre-eminent leader, legalized by al-Bakrī's confirmation.

Al-Jawhariyya was a *ṭarīqa* under the leadership of Ḥasan al-Jawharī, the grandson of Muḥammad Abū 'l-Maʿālī al-Jawharī, who, until well into the second half of the 19th century, had been dealt with officially as the pre-eminent leader of al-Shādhiliyya in Egypt.[73] After

[67] Cf. Muḥammad Wajīh al-Qāwuqajī, *Al-Mudhakkira al-Īdāḥiyya*, Shabīn al-Kūm 1947, 24.

[68] Cf. Trimingham, *Sufi Orders*, 114 ff.

[69] Mūsā Āghā Rāsim was at one time governor of Isnā' and later resided in Alexandria, where he became the *ṭarīqa*'s principal *khalīfa*; cf. Muḥammad Khalīl al-Hajrasī, *Al-Qaṣr al-Mashīd fī 'l-Tawḥīd wa fī Ṭarīqa Sīdī Ibrāhīm al-Rashīd*, Cairo 1314, 98 f. For information about the early history of this *ṭarīqa* and for reference to al-Hajrasī's treatise I am indebted to *al-shaykh* Ṣāliḥ b. Muḥammad al-Jaʿfirī al-Madanī, who had been a disciple of ʿAlī Abū 'l-Nūr al-Jirbī, and lived in the riwāq al-Maghāriba of al-Azhar in 1970.

[70] Al-Hajrasī, *ibid.* 88 f.; Trimingham, *Sufi Orders*, 120 f. According to Le Chatelier, *Confréries*, 95, he founded a *zāwiya* near al-Uqṣur in Upper Egypt.

[71] Alternative names used were al-Rashīda al-Aḥmadiyya al-Idrīsiyya and al-Aḥmadiyya al-Idrīsiyya al-Rashīdiyya al-Muḥammadiyya; cf. *Awrād al-Quṭb al-Ṣamadānī wa al-Ghawth al-Rabbānī Sīdī Ibrāhīm al-Rashīd*, Cairo 1309; and the lithographed Muḥammad Aḥmad al-Dandarāwī, *Sanad al-Ṭarīqa al-Aḥmadiyya al-Idrīsiyya al-Rashīdiyya al-Muḥammadiyya*, n.p., n.d.

[72] For his biography cf. Mujāhid, *Aʿlām*, iii, 114.

[73] Cf. pages 38 and 75. The way in which this arrangement came to an end is obscure. Until 1269 (1852/3) at least he was still considered as *the* Shādhiliyya leader in Egypt and was active as such; cf. al-Shuʿaybī, 24.

his death,[74] however, this authority position suffered a set-back which affected the continuity of this group so that it became insignificant and peripheral to al-Bakrī's administration. However, in the late seventies the family tradition of *ṭarīqa* leadership was revived by his grandson Ḥasan.[75] In addition to the office of *nāẓir* of the *awqāf* of Muḥammad Abū 'l-Ma'ālī, Ḥasan held the office of *shaykh qurrā' al-Ḥizb al-Shādhilī*.[76] The incumbent of this office, like the incumbents of the offices of *shaykh qirā'at Dalā'il al- ayrāt* was subject to al-Bakrī's authority since the agreement with al-Azhar of 1847 (see p. 33 above). He had to organize and supervise the sessions near the shrines where al-Shādhilī's *Ḥizb al-Barr*[77] was read, as well as similar sessions for the major religious celebrations supervised by al-Bakrī.[78] No doubt the social prestige derived from the incumbency of these offices was an asset to him when he set out to establish a *ṭarīqa* of his own, which he presented under the name of al-Jawhariyya al-Shādhiliyya.[79]

[74] Cf. chapter II, note 196.

[75] My principal informant about al-Jawhariyya was *al-Liwā'* Rif'at al-Jawharī, the *ṭarīqa*'s *shaykh al-sajjāda* since 1949. He kindly allowed me to microfilm a small collection of documents in his possession containing data relative to the 18th and 19th century history of the *ṭarīqa* (Leiden F.Or.A. 286).

[76] Cf. F.Or.A. 285, I-64/1 (2 Raj. 1290).

[77] Also known as *al-Ḥizb al-Kabīr*. It has been printed numerous times throughout the Islamic world, mostly as part of prayer collections, e.g. in Zakī, *Al-Nafḥa*; Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Ibn 'Iyyād, *Al-Mafākhir al-'Aliyya fī 'l-Ma'āthir al-Shādhiliyya* (various editions), and *Majmū' al-Awrād al-Kabīr*, Cairo n.d.

[78] Cf. the various invitations extended to Ḥasan al-Jawharī in the capacity of *shaykh qurrā' al-ḥizb* contained in the series F.Or.A. 283 and 285. Among the occasions on which the *ḥizb* was read was the ceremonial gathering in the Dīwān al-Muḥāfaẓa on the night preceding the *maḥmal*-procession; cf. F.Or.A. 283-I/83 (7 Shaw. 1288). No reference is made to this aspect of the celebrations in Jomier, *Le Mahmal*.

According to Rif'at al-Jawharī, the *shaykh qurrā' al-ḥizb* received a fixed income out of *awqāf* revenues. He appointed and held authority over those who had fixed salaries — also out of revenues from *awqāf* established for this purpose — for reading the *Ḥizb al-Barr* near the various shrines on specified days and occasions. These officials and their aides, referred to by al-Jabartī as *arbāb al-Ḥizb* or *jamā'at al-Ḥizb* (cf. *'Ajā'ib*, iv, 187), used to derive an income from participation in funeral processions in which they were expected to recite the *Ḥizb* (cf. Lane, 522). From them, the *shaykh al-Ḥizb*, used to receive irregular payments in money and kind, which was an additional source of income. Similar arrangements may have existed with respect to the *mashāyikh qirā'at al-Burda* (cf. chapter III, note 305). For a more recent denunciation of the participation of people who recite the *Ḥizb* or the *Burda* in funeral processions, see Ibrāhīm Abū Sa'da, 'Al-Bida' al-Mustahjana', *Al-Islām*, v/16 (Cairo 1935), 35f.

[79] My view that any mention of "*al-sāda al-Jawhariyya*" in documents prior to 1290 (1873/4) (e.g. in WA, no. 2968 (Jum. I 1187)) is therefore either a reference to the family group or to the shrines of the members of this family and not to a distinct *ṭarīqa*, was concurred with by Rif'at al-Jawharī, the present-day head of the *ṭarīqa*. The most important of these shrines were and still are those of Aḥmad al-Jawharī in the Jawharī-mosque (Shārī' Jawhar al-Qā'id, Cairo); Abū 'l-Ma'ālī (Shārī' al-Jawharī near al-'Ataba, Cairo); 'Abd Allāh al-Jawharī ('Ābidīn, Cairo); 'Abd al-Fattāḥ al-Jawharī (Shabīn al-Kūm, al-Minūfiyya); 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Jawharī (Maḥallat al-Jawhariyya, Ṭanṭā); 'Abd al-Ḥamīd al-Jawharī (Shabīn al-Qanāṭir, al-Qalyūbiyya).

To what extent the *ṭarīqa* of Muḥammad Abū 'l-Ma'ālī was practised and propagated by his grandson cannot be established conclusively. However, some continuity probably existed, since he was initiated into al-Shādhiliyya by his grandfather whose spiritual genealogy going back to Mawlay al-Ṭayyib he presented in preference to another *silsila* which went back to Muḥammad al-'Arabī.[80] This preference would seem to have been inspired by a desire to differentiate as much as possible from al-'Arabiyya al-Shādhiliyya. The need for this differentiation could only have been felt if the tie had practical implications for the autonomy of Ḥasan al-Jawharī's leadership. These implications could not have been immanent unless al-'Arabiyya had obtained the status of officially recognized *ṭarīqa* before al-Jawhariyya, because this would have permitted the *shaykh* of al-'Arabiyya to claim anybody tracing himself back to the *ṭarīqa*'s founder as being subject to his authority.

The principal leader within al-'Arabiyya al-Shādhiliyya before 1882 had been Muḥammad 'Illaysh (1217-1299 : 1802-1882),[81] the well-known *'ālim* and later Mālikī *muftī* of Egypt, who had never been formally dependent upon al-Bakrī. This suggests that the *ṭarīqa* must have become rather insignificant, probably after the death of its one-time leader Muḥammad al-Amīr al-Kabīr in 1232 (1816/17).[82] In the 1880's, however, it had obtained a membership in Upper Egypt in the provinces of al-Jīza, Asyūṭ and Jirjā and in the rural areas directly north of Cairo. This must have induced al-Bakrī to recognize one of the *khulafā'* of this *ṭarīqa*, Aḥmad Efendī Sulaymān, as its head,[83] presumably as a second choice, since Muḥammad 'Illaysh's son 'Abd al-Raḥmān, who would have been the most eligible candidate, had been banished to Istanbul (and later from there to Rhodes)[84]

[80] Cf. 'Risāla fī Bayān Salāsil al-Ṭuruq', 30-31, and *'Ajā'ib*, i, 309ff.

[81] For his biography, see the preface to Muḥammad 'Illaysh, *Fatḥ al-'Alī al-Mālik fī 'l-Fatwā 'alā Madhhab al-Imām Mālik*, ii vols., Cairo 1319-1321. See also *Khiṭ.*, iv, 41, and Khayr al-Dīn al-Ziriklī, *Al-A'lām*, x vols., Cairo, 1954-59, vi, 244.

[82] Cf. chapter I, note 79.

[83] Cf. MS Leiden Or. 14431/III (24 Rab. II 1304); *idem*/IV (*ijāza* dated 1305).

[84] See 'Abd al-Ḥalīm Maḥmūd, *Al-Madrasa al-Shādhiliyya al-Ḥadītha wa Imāmuhā Abū 'l-Ḥasan al-Shādhilī*, Cairo 1968, 251.

in the wake of the 'Urābī insurrection[85] and therefore was unable to assume office.

The reasons for recognizing 'Aṭiyya al-Bandārī, known as al-Ṣaghīr, as head of al-Bandāriyya al-Aḥmadiyya are somewhat less obscure. According to the statement in a manual for the members of this *ṭarīqa*, it was founded by 'Aṭiyya al-Bandārī al-Kabīr who was said to have been among the disciples of Aḥmad al-Badawī.[86] This contention, however, is not confirmed by any source,[87] nor is the existence of a *ṭarīqa* under the name mentioned before the era of 'Abd al-Bāqī al-Bakrī. These observations would be reconcilable with the *ṭarīqa*'s oral tradition which cherishes the era of 'Aṭiyya al-Ṣaghīr (d. 1899) as the order's heyday.[88] The fact that he was intendant to the shrine of his ancestor 'Aṭiyya al-Kabīr in the town of al-Zaqāzīq, must have had some bearing on the success with which he apparently met in propagating his *ṭarīqa*.

Among the Khalwatiyya branches which obtained official status, information about al-Ḥifniyya is particularly lacking. Muḥammad Sālim al-Ḥifnī (d. 1181 : 1768) from whom this *ṭarīqa* took its name, had been a disciple and spiritual heir of Muṣṭafā Kamāl al-Dīn al-Bakrī (d. 1161 : 1749), the great revivalist of al-Khalwatiyya, whose Way he largely continued.[89] After his death, however, a number of branches emerged within which the original Way was altered in varying degrees.[90] These branches were to become more celebrated than the original Ḥifniyya which is known, however, to have flourished well into the first quarter of the nineteenth century,[91] but presumably led by *khulafā'* whose unimportance would account for the fact that their names have not found their way into any source; after this period it vanishes from history.

[85] He was banished for a period of five years; cf. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Rāfi'ī, *Al-Thawra al-'Urābiyya wa'l-Iḫtilāl al-Injilīzī*, Cairo 1937, 491. See also below page 122f.

[86] Cf. Muḥammad Muḥammad Ḥasan 'Aṭiyya, *Kawkab al-Rabbānī*, al-Zaqāzīq n.d. [1964], 2ff. The author of this booklet, who was my principal informant about this *ṭarīqa*, is its present-day head, resident in al-Zaqāzīq, near the mosque of Sīdī al-Bandārī.

[87] Therefore, the *silsila*, which is found in the *ijāzāt* of the *ṭarīqa*, and is mentioned in the booklet referred to in note 86, must be spurious. This also appears from the fact that between Aḥmad al-Badawī and 'Aṭiyya al-Ṣaghīr, only three names occur of *mashāyiḫ* who are supposed to have transmitted the Way in a period covering about 600 years.

[88] The first documentary evidence of 'Aṭiyya's activities in the *ṭuruq* realm dates from the early 1870's; cf. F.Or.A. 283, I-72/5 (19 Raj. 1288).

[89] Cf. chapter I, notes 74 and 75.

[90] Cf. Trimingham, *Sufi Orders*, 77.

[91] Cf. Lane, 249.

At the end of the seventies, however, a *ṭarīqa* known as al-Ḥifniyya existed in the town of Dimyāṭ.[92] Its leader, whose name and *silsila* are unknown, was even recognized by al-Bakrī as *shaykh al-sajjāda al-Ḥifniyya*[93] — a unique arrangement as it appears — exclusively in Dimyāṭ.[94] This suggests that this *shaykh* had numerous followers in that town and it makes it likely that this *ṭarīqa* is identical with the Ḥifniyya mentioned by 'Alī Mubārak as one of the *ṭuruq* under the authority of al-Bakrī.[95]

Among al-Ḥifnī's disciples, Ṣāliḥ al-Sibā'ī al-'Idwī (d. 1221 : 1806/7)[96] stands out as the only one who had also been under the spiritual guidance of al-Ḥifnī's principal successor, Aḥmad al-Dardayr.[97] After al-Dardayr's death in 1201 (1786) he succeeded his former master as leader of the *ṭarīqa*. Under his leadership, and for at least four decades after his death, when the *ṭarīqa* was led by his sons and successors,[98] there is nothing to suggest that it was anything but a continuation

[92] F.Or.A. 283-V 35(15)/1 (9 Jum. II 1297).

[93] I.e. as the supreme head of al-Ḥifniyya. Throughout the 19th century the term *shaykh al-sajjāda* was not used in any consistent way. According to Lane, all the heads of the orders were called so; cf. Lane, 248. Le Chatelier, who writes about half a century later, mentions that the local head of an order is designated by this term; cf. Le Chatelier, *Confréries*, 5. However, the heads of the orders are consistently referred to as *shaykh al-ṭarīqa* or as *shaykh al-sāda* (pl. *mashāyiḫ al-ṭuruq*) in the documents in the series F.Or.A. 283 and 284, i.e. from about 1870 onwards. In these documents use of the terms *mashāyiḫ al-sajjādjīd* and *arbāb al-sajjādjīd* remains restricted to the distinct category of dignitaries referred to in the preceding chapters; cf. F.Or.A. 283, I-80/1 (25 Sha'bān 1288); IV-15(6), 16(7)/1 (15 Qa'da 1289); V-8(15)/8 (6 Raj. 1296). In Yūsuf Āṣāf, *Dalīl Miṣr li-'Ām 1891*, Cairo 1890, 74f., the *shaykh al-sajjāda al-Wafā'iyya* is referred to as *shaykh al-ṭarīqa al-Wafā'iyya*, while the *shaykh al-ṭarīqa al-'Afīfiyya* appears as *shaykh al-sajjāda*.

Not until around 1905, when the Internal Regulations were accepted by the Ṣūfī Council (see below page 171) does the term *shaykh al-sajjāda* seem to have been applied to the heads of all officially recognized *ṭuruq* indiscriminately. The provisions in these Regulations, which aimed at ending the exceptional status of those who had traditional claims to an office of *shaykh al-sajjāda*, may have generated this development. The confused usage of these terms, however, continued well into the twentieth century.

[94] V-35(15)/1 (9 Jum. II 1297).

[95] *Khiṭ.*, iii, 130.

[96] For a biography see Ẓāfir, 171.

[97] For a biography see *'Ajā'ib*, ii, 147-8. When al-Ḥifnī died Ṣāliḥ was in the fourth name, which he later completed under al-Dardayr. On the names see the section "Doctrine and Practice" in F. de Jong, 'Khalwatiyya' in *E.I.*², iv, 991-3.

[98] In the oral tradition of al-Sibā'iyya it is claimed that Aḥmad al-Ṣāwī, the founder of al-Ṣāwiyya had been a *khalīfa* of Ṣāliḥ al-Sibā'ī; cf. *Majmū' Awrād Jalīl*, Būlāq 1322, 49 (*al-tawassul*). This is denied by the members of al-Ṣāwiyya who claim that Aḥmad al-Ṣāwī and Ṣāliḥ al-Sibā'ī were both *khalīfa*s of al-Dardayr, i.e. they were of equal standing, and that al-Sibā'ī merely attempted to induce al-Ṣāwī to become a *khalīfa* of the *ṭarīqa* under his leadership. This he reportedly refused; cf. al-Maghribī, 39ff.

of the *ṭarīqa* of al-Dardayr. A transformation seems to have occurred after 1271 (1854/5) when Ṣāliḥ's grandson, Rāghib Muḥammad (d. 1306 : 1888/89),[99] became the *ṭarīqa*'s leader. The latter deviated from al-Dardayr's Way by amending the *ṭarīqa*'s ritual[100] and since none of his predecessors had endeavoured to do so, it was most probably under his leadership also that the *ṭarīqa* adopted al-Sibā'iyya as its distinctive name. Besides his initiation into al-Khalwatiyya,[101] Rāghib had himself initiated into al-'Arabiyya al-Shādhiliyya by Muḥammad 'Illaysh.[102] This obvious concern with *taṣawwuf* distinguishes Rāghib from his predecessors and makes it reasonable to suppose that not only was he responsible for the creation of a distinct *ṭarīqa*, but also for the expansion of its membership; that this must have taken place, is suggested by the fact that it was recognized by al-Bakrī. For this *ṭarīqa* as well as for the others dealt with in this section, growth and spread must have been facilitated by the defective maintenance of rights of *qadam* during much of the last decade of the period in which Rāghib was the *ṭarīqa*'s supreme leader.

d. *Secessionist ṭuruq*

As has already been mentioned, attempts at independence by groups which had developed into distinctive *ṭuruq* inside the *ṭuruq* integrated within al-Bakrī's administration, as well as any secessionist movements, had always been checked by the principle of right of *qadam*, since as independent *ṭuruq* these groups did not have this right and consequently could not manifest themselves as such. Defective maintenance of rights of *qadam*, however, allowed a number of such groups, to secede and to manifest themselves as *ṭuruq* in their own right. Those who did so and became *de jure* independent *ṭuruq* when al-Bakrī confirmed a candidate in the position of head over each of these groups, were: al-Ḍayfiyya, al-Misallimiyya,[103] al-Sharnūbiyya and al-Shahāwiyya.

[99] For a biography see Ẓāfir, 153.

[100] The most notable of these amendments was the obligatory reading of a *tawassul* written by him, directly after al-Dardayr's *manẓūma*; cf. *Majmū' Awrād*, 43; and Muḥriz b. Muḥammad al-Sibā'ī, *Majmū' Awrād al-Ṭarīqa al-Sibā'iyya al-Khalwatiyya*, Cairo 1372, 67ff.

[101] He was initiated into al-Khalwatiyya by Mūsā Kaḥla, a *khalīfa* who led the *ṭarīqa* after the death of 'Alī Ḥuksha in 1271 (1854/5), the successor of Rāghib's father Muḥammad (d. 1268 : 1851/2); cf. Ẓāfir, 153; *Majmū'* 49-50.

[102] Ẓāfir, *ibid.*

[103] This vocalization is found in the *ijāzāt* of the *ṭarīqa*. Alternative vocalizations occur; cf. al-Bakrī, 'Kitāb al-Ṭuruq al-Ṣūfiyya', fol. 23, where the vocalization is Misallamiyya; and the title page of 'Abd al-Qādir Muḥammad Aḥmad al-Musallimī, *Al-Durra al-Bahiyya fī Tasābiḥ wa Awrād al-Sāda al-Musallimiyya*, n.p. 1332, giving a variant. The shrine of Salīm is in al-Ṣawwa, east of al-Zaqāzīq. It is among the most famous shrines in the eastern Delta; cf. *Khiṭ.*, xiii, 27.

The first of these had emerged as a distinct *ṭarīqa* within al-Ṣāwiyya, a development already referred to in the preceding chapter (p. 74). It was not until 1296 (1879) at the death of Aḥmad Ḍayf, who had been head of al-Ṣāwiyya, that the *ṭarīqa* was presented under its own name as a *ṭarīqa* distinct from al-Ṣāwiyya. Credit for this should be given to his brother Muḥammad Ismā'īl Ḍayf (1271-1348 : 1854/55-1929) who was the first to obtain al-Bakrī's recognition as head of the independent *ṭarīqa al-Ḍayfiyya*.[104]

In the first half of the nineteenth century a *ṭarīqa* had emerged in al-Sharqiyya province under the leadership of Salīm Abū Misallim al-Hamdānī al-Ṣaghīr (d. 1244 : 1828/29), a member of the Ḥusaynid sharifian family of al-Misallimiyya.[105] He had been initiated into al-Khalwatiyya by the erstwhile *shaykh al-Azhar* 'Abd Allāh al-Sharqāwī (d. 1227 : 1812) and into al-Shinnāwiyya by Muḥammad "Bunduq" al-Shinnāwī.[106] When al-Bakrī's administration developed, the last-mentioned link permitted the heads of al-Shinnāwiyya to claim *qadam* wherever this *ṭarīqa* had members. This explains why, if their *ṭarīqa* were to continue to function properly, the heads of al-Misallimiyya had hardly any alternative than to do so as part of al-Shinnāwiyya. When, in the course of the eighties, rights of *qadam* were less stringently maintained, the need to continue under the suzerainty of the heads of al-Shinnāwiyya and as part of that *ṭarīqa*, largely disappeared. Consequently, the grandson of the founder, Salīm 'Abd Allāh Salīm presented himself from that time onwards as head of an independent *ṭarīqa Misallimiyya*. Apparently, the *ṭarīqa* seemed sufficiently significant to al-Bakrī in terms of numerical strength and geographical expansion of membership for him to grant it official recognition.

Al-Shahāwiyya and al-Sharnūbiyya trace their origins back to Muḥammad al-Shahāwī and his pupil Aḥmad 'Arab al-Sharnūbī respectively, both Burhāmiyya *shaykh*s who lived in the early Ottoman

[104] About Ismā'īl 'Alī Ḍayf, his son Muḥammad and their descendants; cf. al-Maghribī, 156. The shrine, where most of them were buried, near Sīdī al-Sammān in the cemetery of al-Imām al-Shāfi'ī, may be visited today.

[105] See al-Sakhāwī, 235.

[106] He was the son of one of the more famous representatives of this *ṭarīqa*, 'Alī "Bunduq" al-Shinnāwī (d. 1183 : 1769/70); cf. *'Ajā'ib*, i, 376.

era.[107] For the whole of this period nothing is known about the degree to which these orders functioned independently from the parent *ṭarīqa* headed by members of the 'Āshūr family in Cairo (see above p. 17). For the early nineteenth century, however, there is some indication that at least al-Sharnūbiyya existed as an autonomous *ṭarīqa*; this is to be found in a document in which indirect reference is made to the *shaykh al-sāda al-Sharāniba al-Burhāmiyya.*[108] Nevertheless, this leadership position can hardly have had the same status as the position of the head of al-Burhāmiyya. If such had been the case al-Sharnūbiyya would not have become subject to the authority of the head of al-Burhāmiyya in the second half of the nineteenth century as a *bayt* of this *ṭarīqa.*[109] Indeed, it must have been the very weakness of central authority in al-Sharnūbiyya, or probably even the absence of central authority in the case of al-Shahāwiyya, which would account for the fact that both *ṭarīqa*s were assigned the status of *bayt* of al-Burhāmiyya when al-Bakrī's administration developed from the middle of the nineteenth century onwards. In the course of the seventies, however, supreme authority within both *bayt*s was monopolized by *khalīfa*s who aimed at minimizing the suzerainty of the heads of al-Burhāmiyya over them.

In al-Sharnūbiyya a position of pre-eminence had been obtained by Muḥammad al-Sinbāṭī, a shadowy figure of whom little more is known than that he was killed as the result of a vendetta in 1902.[110]

[107] Cf. Khalaf Allāh, 331 ff. See also chapter I, notes 58 and 59.

[108] WA, no. 1112 (*Ḥujjat Da'wā* dated 9 Raj. 1266). In this document reference is made to his daughter. The court-case was relative to a *waqf*, of which the revenues were intended to cover the "*maṣāliḥ wa ihtimāmāt*" of a boat to be used by members of this *ṭarīqa* to sail to Disūq at the time of the *mawlid* of Ibrāhīm al-Disūqī.

[109] See II-18/4 (6 Raj. 1289), and V-1(8)/2 (19 Ram. 1296). Cf. Le Chatelier, *Confréries*, 193. This author mentions the "Touhamiya" as a third branch. No source, however, confirms that a Burhāmiyya branch under that name has ever existed. This makes it likely that the author has erroneously taken the Shādhiliyya branch with this name, for a branch of al-Burhāmiyya. Al-Ḥarīrī, i, fol. 127[a] gives the *ṭarīqa* headed by members of the 'Āshūr family as al-'Āshūriyya and mentions also an additional branch, al-Tāziyya, founded by a certain Ibrāhīm al-Tāzī. About this branch no details are known.

[110] When he died, one of the *ṭarīqa*'s principal *khulafā'*, Yūsuf al-Basyūnī (d. 1953) was placed in charge of the *ṭarīqa* as *wakīl* since al-Sinbāṭī's only living son was still a child at the time. When, however, this son also died in 1919, still in his teens, Yūsuf managed to secure official recognition as the *ṭarīqa's shaykh al-sajjāda*. This was not complied with by a section of the *ṭarīqa* in the northern Delta in and around al-Maḥalla al-Kubrā, under the leadership of a certain Muṣṭafā Muḥammad 'Īd. The latter claimed priority over Yūsuf al-Basyūnī as the *ṭarīqa's* supreme leader and presented himself as such; cf. Muḥammad Nūr al-Dīn, *Al-Ḥayā al-Waṭaniyya bi'l-Maḥalla al-Kubrā*, Ṭanṭā 1929, 72.

I owe this information to 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad Ṣābir al-Sharnūbī, *khalīfat al-khulafā'* of this *ṭarīqa*, living in Sharnūb near Damanhūr (al-Buḥayra province). I have not been able to secure more data pertaining to this leadership conflict.

[111] For his biography see Riḍwān al-'Adl Baybars, *Tarjamat Murabbī al-Murīdīn wa Murshid al-Sālikīn ... al-Shaykh 'Umar Ja'far al-Shabrāwī*, Cairo 1952.

[112] Cf. Aḥmad Efendī Muḥammad 'Uthmān, *Risālat Imāṭat al-Litḥām 'an ba'ḍ Aṭḥār Sīdī Abī 'Abd al-Salām ... al-Shaykh 'Umar Haykal Ja'far al-Shabrāwī*, n.p. 1366, 86 f.

[113] Cf. F.Or.A. 283, II-18/4 (6 Raj. 1289).

[114] Cf. F.Or.A. 285, II-104/1 (6 Muḥ. 1304).

[115] Le Chatelier collected the data for his *Les Confréries* at about this time. He mentions a story according to which Muḥammad al-Bakrī was not the son of Muḥammad Abū 'l Su'ūd, but the son of another member of the Bakrī family: that he had replaced his daughter by this boy, since he had no male descendants himself;

As pre-eminent leader of al-Shahāwiyya, Muḥammad Abū 'l-'Alā' al-Ḥusaynī emerged. In addition to his initiation into al-Burhāmiyya, he had also been initiated into al-Khalwatiyya, al-Shādhiliyya and al-Naqshbandiyya by 'Umar al-Shabrāwī (1235-1303 : 1819/20-1886),[111] to whom he had been a devoted servant for a considerable part of his life.[112]

Both Muḥammad al-Sinbāṭī as well as Muḥammad Abū 'l-'Alā' al-Shahāwī had already manifested themselves at times as heads of independent *ṭarīqa*s in al-Daqahliyya province before 1881; these manifestations of autonomy had always been curbed.[113] After 1881, when institutional checks against secession became ineffective, both *khalīfa*s opted for leadership of independent *ṭarīqa*s[114] and were confirmed in these positions by al-Bakrī at the beginning of the eighties.

e. *The changing area of authority and the decline of its legitimacy*

The fact that the heads of the *ṭuruq* dealt with in the preceding section, with the exception of al-Ḥiṣāfiyya and al-'Ināniyya, had all solicited and obtained legality of tenure from al-Bakrī, did not imply that they agreed with reforms as laid down in the circular issued by him, nor were they ready to implement what it contained. On the contrary, their *ṭuruq*, as well as the *ṭuruq* which had participated in the administration for decades, seem to have evaded the restrictions and stipulations made in the circular as far as this was possible, and like the heads of the latter *ṭuruq*, they tended towards self-containment. This implied an unprecedented decline in the legitimacy of the authority of al-Bakrī[115] which may have been augmented by the fact that he

had not preserved the unity of some of the larger *ṭuruq*, but on the contrary acted against their interests, which must have placed his relationships with the heads of these *ṭuruq* under considerable strain.

By 1891 only nine of the original twenty-nine *mashāyikh al-ṭuruq*, being the heads of al-Sa'diyya, al-Rifā'iyya, al-Bayyūmiyya, al-Mīrghaniyya, al-'Afīfiyya, al-Marzūqiyya al-Aḥmadiyya, al-Qādiriyya, al-Sharnūbiyya and al-Burhāmiyya, do not seem to have turned away from al-Bakrī.[116] In addition to this a number of heads of *takāyā* also appear to have dissociated themselves from the administration, notably those in charge of the takāyā al-Bukhārliyya (al-Uzbak) in Darb al-Labbān, Niẓām al-Dīn al-Bukhārliyya in al-Ḥaṭṭāba, al-Maghribī, Muḥyī 'l-Dīn, al-Bukhārī near Bāb al-Wazīr and al-Maghāwirī.[117] Heads of other *takāyā*, however, had come to obtain legitimacy of tenure through appointment by al-Bakrī. An example, in Cairo, for instance, was the head of the takīyat al-Ḥabbāniyya who was formerly appointed by the *Dīwān al-Awqāf* upon recommendation by *al-Azhar* (cf. p. 84), an arrangement which had at some time been discontinued.

In Alexandria the heads of the two Qādiriyya *takīya*s had accepted al-Bakrī's authority over them. In one of these *takīya*s resided a community of exclusively Turkish Qādirīs.[118] The *takīya* itself, however, had originally belonged to al-Gülshāniyya and it was still known under that name.[119] It is not unlikely that the Qādiriyya *shaykh* of the latter *takīya*, 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Niyāzī,[120] had sought official confirmation by al-Bakrī in order to strengthen his position as head of a *takīya* to which members of this *ṭarīqa* traditionally had no right or title.[121]

In addition, in Cairo the *shaykh ḍarīḥ* in charge of the shrine of Muḥammad Demirdāsh al-Muḥammadī had become recognized as

cf. Le Chatelier, *Confréries*, 186-7. This rumour, discrediting 'Abd al-Bāqī's descent and hence questioning the legitimacy of his authority, seems very much the result of the resentment which had arisen against him.

[116] Cf. Āṣāf, 74ff.

[117] Zakhūrā, i, 224 *d*; *Khiṭ.*, iii, 130. To what extent the contents of the circular were of any consequence for al-Bakrī's authority over the heads of the *zawāyā* and the intendants of the shrines is not known.

[118] *Khiṭ., ibid.*

[119] Cf. MS Leiden Or. 14432 (Niyāzī documents)/IIa, b (20 Raj. 1311).

[120] The full name of this *shaykh* was 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Niyāzī b. Ibrāhīm al-Ičellī (d. 1311 : 1893/4). He was initiated into al-Qādiriyya by 'Abd al-Raḥmān Efendī, the *shaykh* of the takīyat Qaṣr al-'Aynī; cf. above page 80.

[121] The earliest indication of the presence of Qādirīs in this *takīya* dates from Ramaḍān 1298 (April/May 1881); cf. MS Leiden Or. 14432/III (13 Ram. 1298).

shaykh takīya sometime before 1304 (1886/87).[122] This suggests an increase of the community resident in the establishment near the shrine, since the change can only be attributed to this, and it reflects the revival of the *ṭarīqa* under the then *shaykh* 'Abd al-Raḥīm Muṣṭafā al-Demirdāsh (d. 1348 : 1930).[123]

f. *The 'Urābī insurrection and ṭarīqa involvement*

In 1881, when, 'Abd al-Bāqī endeavoured to implement the reforms set out in preceding pages, Egypt was in the midst of the turbulent period culminating in the 'Urābī insurrection and the subsequent British occupation. No-one among the *mashāyikh al-ṭuruq* under al-Bakrī's jurisdiction is known to have played any part in these events.[124] There is no reason to suppose, however, that in their attitude towards 'Urābī they differed from the majority of those belonging to the religious establishment who, actively or passively, had remained loyal to the khedive.[125] Therefore, 'Abd al-Bāqī's support of the khedive against the 'Urābiyyūn[126] and his public manifestation of approval of the occupation when he gave a banquet in honour of General Sir Garnet Wolseley, the commander of the British forces, on the very evening of the day on which he entered Cairo,[127] is not likely to have been of any consequence for the legitimacy of his authority over the *mashāyikh al-ṭuruq*. Nor did it provoke any change in his position as one of the principal religious leaders within the wider society,[128] which he was to represent in the Legislative Council (*Majlis Shūrā al-Qawānīn*) and the General

[122] *Khiṭ., ibid.*

[123] Cf. Muḥammad Sulaymān Badawī, *Nubdha Yasīra min Ḥayāt Ustādhinā al-Fāḍil ... al-Sayyid 'Abd al-Raḥīm Muṣṭafā al-Demirdāsh Bāshā*, Cairo n.d., 6. On the *khalwa* of al-Demirdāshiyya, see E. Bannerth, 'Über den Stifter und Sonderbrauch der Demirdāšiyya-Sufis in Kairo', *WZKM* 62 (1969), 116-133.

'Abd al-Raḥīm had the *zāwiya* restored, the mosque enlarged and had more *khalwa*-cells constructed; cf. Mujāhid, *A'lām*, iii, 110.

[124] Some of those belonging to lodges of Aḥmadiyya *ṭuruq* in the provinces appear to have taken part in the events, however; cf. Le Chatelier, *Confréries*, 73f.; Shafīq, 195.

[125] For an enumeration of *'ulamā'* and practicing mystics involved in the insurrection, see Khafājī, *Turāth*, 167.

[126] Malortie, 315f.

[127] On the 15th of September 1882; cf. N.-C.D., 'L'Aristocratie Religieuse', 259.

[128] In that capacity he was exempted from payment of the house-tax (*al-rusūm al-khāṣṣa*) on his palace in al-Khurunfish; cf. F.Or.A. 283, V-44(24)/1 (11 Raj. 1301) and F.Or.A. 284, III/7 (11 Raj. 1301).

Assembly (*al-Jam'iyya al-'Umūmiyya*) convened for the first time in November 1883.[129]

Notably different from the rôle of al-Bakrī and the heads of the *ṭuruq* under his jurisdiction was that of leaders and members of various Khalwatiyya groups, which had not given up their position of autonomy and non-involvement with al-Bakrī and the *ṭuruq* administration.[130] Le Chatelier reports that this *ṭarīqa* played an active rôle in the insurrection[131] and scattered Khalwatiyya groups in Upper Egypt remained in a state of revolt for a considerable time after the occupation had been completed and the original rebellion had been crushed.[132] The circumstances which generated the active involvement of these groups seem to have been different, however, from the circumstances which generated the 'Urābī insurrection proper. Peasants in parts of Upper Egypt had been in a state of rebelliousness caused chiefly by drought, nefarious taxes and the corvée.[133] These rivulets of revolt seem to have merged with the broader stream of the 'Urābī insurrection and continued to flow even after this stream had been checked, since they had sprung from different sources.

The most notable among the Khalwatiyya groups which were involved in the insurrection was al-Qāyātiyya. This group traces itself back to 'Abd al-Laṭīf al-Qāyātī (d. 1258 : 1842),[134] a disciple of Ibrāhīm al-Shalqānī al-'Imrānī[135] who had been among the *khulafā'* of Aḥmad al-Dardayr. It was, however, 'Abd al-Laṭīf's son and *khalīfa* 'Abd al-Jawwād (1227-1287 : 1812-1870/1)[136] who developed this Khalwatiyya group into a distinct *ṭarīqa* with its centre in al-Qāyāt (al-Minyā). At the time of the 'Urābī insurrection it was led by 'Abd al-Jawwād's son Muḥammad (d. 1320 : 1902),[137] who, along with his brother Aḥmad, must have been responsible for the active participation of the *ṭarīqa* in the insurrection. After the British occupation, both were tried, together with many others[138] who had given active support to 'Urābī, and sentenced to a five year exile in Beirut.[139]

Except for an explicit reference to this Khalwatiyya branch, Le Chatelier gives no clue that might make it possible to establish which other branches "ont fourni de véritables contingents aux insurgés"[140] or to identify "les petits groupes indépendents, fort nombreux au sud du Delta".[141] However, the following representatives of al-Khalwatiyya are known to have been active in Upper Egypt at that time and were probably leaders of groups among those referred to by Le Chatelier: Jum'a Abū 'l-'Alā' al-Najjār, a *khalīfa* initiated by Muḥammad al-Shādhilī (see p. 74), in Umm Dīnār (al-Jīza);[142] Muḥammad Abū Sha'bān al-Rawḍī and 'Alī al-'Imrānī,[143] *khalīfa*s of Aḥmad al-Ṣāwī's disciple 'Abd al-Bāqī, both in al-Rawḍa (near Mallawī in Asyūṭ province);[144] 'Alī al-Shādhilī, son of Aḥmad al-Ṣāwī's *khalīfa* 'Abd al-Bāqī, in Kafr al-'Ammār (al-Jīza);[145] 'Abd al-Jawwād al-Mansafīsī (1254-1346 : 1838-1927), who also had a *silsila* going back to Aḥmad al-Ṣāwī, in Dayrūṭ (Asyūṭ province);[146] Ḥasan Riḍwān (1239-1310 : 1823-1892)[147] who had been initiated by 'Abd al-Ghanī al-Mallawī (d. 1284 : 1867/8), a *khalīfa* of one of Aḥmad al-Dardayr's disciples, Ibrāhīm al-Shalqānī al-'Imrānī, in al-Minyā province; Jūda 'Abd al-Muta'āl (1212-1322 : 1797/8-1904),[148] who had been initiated

[129] Cf. *B.S.* 139. On these bodies, see e.g. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Rāfi'ī, *Miṣr wa 'l-Sūdān fī Awā'il 'Ahd al-Iḥtilāl*, Cairo 1942, chapter IV; and also Cromer, ii, 271ff.

[130] Le Chatelier, *Confréries*, 52.

[131] *Ibid.*, 73f.

[132] *Ibid.*, 75.

[133] Cf. G. Baer, *Studies in the History of Modern Egypt*, Chicago/London 1969, 100.

[134] For his biography see Muḥammad 'Abd al-Jawwād al-Qāyātī, *Khulāṣat al-Taḥqīq fī Afḍaliyyat al-Ṣiddīq*, Cairo 1313, 43f.; and *Khiṭ.*, xiv, 96.

[135] For biographical data as well as for data about his shrine and *mawlid* in Abā 'l-Waqf (al-Minyā) see also *Khiṭ.*, viii, 2.

[136] Al-Qāyātī, *Khulāṣat*, 46; *Khiṭ.*, *ibid.*

[137] For biographical notes see Mujāhid, *A'lām*, iv, 246.

[138] Cf. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Rāfi'ī, *Al-Thawra al-'Urābiyya*, 490ff.

[139] For Muḥammad's reflections upon these events and the account of his exile see his *Nafḥat al-Bisḥām fī Riḥlat al-Shām*, Cairo 1319.

[140] Le Chatelier, *Confréries*, 74.

[141] *Ibid.*, 75. This author also states "C'est par eux en partie que les Mahdistes du Soudan ont été constamment tenus au courant des événements du Nord"; *Ibid.*, 74. If this was the case, it was most probably by members of al-Sammāniyya. The Mahdī himself started his career as *khalīfa* of this *ṭarīqa* and continued to be considered as such within certain sections of the *ṭarīqa*. On the position of the leaders of the Sudanese branch of al-Sammāniyya and on the particular position of this *ṭarīqa* during the Mahdiyya, see Al-Ṭāhir Muḥammad 'Alī al-Bashīr, *Al-Adab al-Ṣūfī al-Sūdānī*, Beirut 1970, 61ff.

[142] Al-Maghribī, 147.

[143] *Ibid.*, 149; and Fatḥī Maḥmūd Shuhdī, *Al-'Ārif bi 'llāh Rajul al-Ṣalāḥ wa 'l-Iṣlāḥ al-Shaykh Aḥmad al-Ṣāwī Shaykh Mashāyikh al-Ṭuruq al-Ṣūfiyya*, Shabīn al-Kūm 1948, 20f.

[144] Al-Maghribī, 152.

[145] *Ibid.*, 149.

[146] *Ibid.* and 'Abd al-Jawwād Ḥusayn al-Mansafīsī, *Al-Qawl al-Mufīd fī 'Ilm al-Tawḥīd*, al-Minyā 1346, *passim*.

[147] For a biography by his son Muḥammad Abū 'l-Fatḥ, see the preface to Ḥasan Riḍwān, *Rawḍ al-Qulūb al-Mustaṭāb*, Cairo 1322; and Ẓāfir, 127.

[148] For his biography see Muṣṭafā Ibn Abī 'l-Sayf al-Ḥammāmī, *Al-Minaḥ al-Raḥmāniyya fī Manāqib Khādim al-Ṭarīqa al-Khalwatiyya ... al-Shaykh Jūda 'Abd al-*

by Aḥmad al-Junaydī al-Maymūnī, also a *khalīfa* of one of al-Dardayr's disciples, ʿAbd al-ʿAlīm al-Sanhūrī al-Fayyūmī, in the area of Banī Suwayf and al-Fayyūm; and Aḥmad Ibn Sharqāwī al-Khalifī (1250-1316 : 1834-1898),[149] whose chain of initiation also went back to al-Dardayr, in Qinā province, notably in the area of Naj' Ḥammādī. All these *mashāyikh*, except the first two mentioned, were leaders of groups which continued well into the twentieth century and which, in a number of cases, were transformed into distinct *ṭuruq*; these will be discussed in the following chapter.

g. *Summary*

Early in 1881, under pressure from the khedive Tawfīq, ʿAbd al-Bāqī al-Bakrī endeavoured to make a number of reforms pertaining to ritual practice and to intervene in the internal autonomy of the heads of the *ṭuruq*, to which the heads responded by dissociating themselves from the *ṭuruq* administration. In addition, this administration had ceased to be of much significance for the State and its agencies, which ceased to act fully in support of the *ṭuruq* administration even when this was of direct relevance to the adequate maintenance of rights of *qadam*. This allowed for the rise and spread of a number of *ṭuruq* and for the secession of others, which subsequently obtained recognition from al-Bakrī as independent *ṭuruq* in their own right. In consequence of these developments the principle of right of *qadam* was superseded by legality of tenure as the main institutional safeguard against secession. A decade after ʿAbd al-Bāqī had initiated his effort to implement reforms, most of the heads of the *ṭuruq* and many of the heads of the *takāyā* tended towards self-containment in order to evade reformative measures and intervention in their internal affairs by ʿAbd al-Bāqī or his agents. This implied a decline in the legitimacy of the authority of the *shaykh al-sajjāda al-Bakriyya* in regard to the *ṭuruq* and the *takāyā*, which had no precedent and can appropriately be characterized as a crisis of authority.

Muta'āl, Cairo n.d.; and Jābir Aḥmad Muʿammar, *Manhal al-Wurrād wa Bahjat al-Irshād li-man arāda Ṭarīq al-Rashād*, Cairo n.d., 402ff.

[149] For his biography see Muḥammad ʿAbduh al-Ḥajjājī, *Min Aʿlām al-Saʿīd, Abū 'l-Maʿārif Aḥmad Ibn Sharqāwī al-Khalifī, al-Imām al-Qudwa*, Cairo 1969; Ẓāfir, 80; and Khafājī, *Turāth*, 230ff.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE PROMULGATION OF THE REGULATIONS FOR THE *ṬURUQ*, THEIR HISTORY AND CONTENTS

ʿAbd al-Bāqī al-Bakrī died prematurely in 1892, when he was only in his forties.[1] Had he lived longer he might very well have taken action, possibly in conjunction with the government agencies, in order to re-establish his authority and to regain the degree of legitimacy it had had at the time of his father and predecessor ʿAlī al-Bakrī. Now, however, ʿAbd al-Bāqī's successor, his brother Muḥammad Tawfīq,[2] inherited an authority position devoid of legitimacy, at the head of a disrupted administration, indequate for the actualization of the authority to which its incumbent was legally entitled.

a. *Muḥammad Tawfīq al-Bakrī and the early re-assertion of authority*

Immediately upon his investiture as *shaykh al-sajjāda al-Bakriyya, naqīb al-ashrāf* and *shaykh mashāyikh al-ṭuruq al-ṣūfiyya*[3] by the khedive

[1] In *B.S.* only the years in which he was born and died are given, without the exact dates. It is stated, however, that he died 12 days after the death of the khedive Tawfīq, which must therefore have been on 19 Jum. II 1309 (21 Dec. 1891); cf. *B.S.*, 12.

[2] For an autobiography up to 1905, cf. *B.S.*, 11f. For almost identical biographical information, cf. Zakhūrā, i, 217f.; Mujāhid, *Aʿlām*, iii, 94f. For an effort to evaluate his significance, see Māhir Ḥasan Fahmī, *Muḥammad Tawfīq al-Bakrī*, Cairo 1967. The date of his investiture, which must have taken place shortly after 19 Jum. II 1309 (21 Dec. 1891) is not mentioned in any of these biographies. He succeeded his brother also as a member of the General Assembly (*al-Jamʿiyya al-ʿUmūmiyya*) and of the Legislative Council (*Majlis Shūrā al-Qawānīn*); cf. F.Or.A. 384-I/3 (15 Shaw. 1309).

[3] See Shafīq, ii/1, 25; and *B.S.*, 12. The term *shaykh mashāyikh al-ṭuruq al-ṣūfiyya* seems to have become current only after 1880. Not until the appointment of Muḥammad Tawfīq was it used officially to designate as a separate function the authority held over the *ṭuruq* by the *shaykh al-sajjāda al-Bakriyya*. The *firmān* of 1812 speaks about '*al-takallum 'alā ṭawā'if al-fuqarā' al-ṣūfiyya*'. Similar terminology is used in the *firmān* by which ʿAlī al-Bakrī was invested by the khedive Saʿīd. See *B.S.*, 378. This work does not give the text of the *firmān* by which ʿAbd al-Bāqī was appointed, but quotes a passage from ʿAlī Mubārak's *Khiṭaṭ*, where mention is made of his appointment. Here equally the term *takallum* is used, together with the term *tābiʿa* (*al-ṭuruq al-ṣūfiyya al-tābiʿa al-ān li-mashyakhat al-sāda al-Bakriyya*); *Khiṭ.*, iii, 129. In the microfilmed documents of the Leiden collection, the term *al-mashyakhat al-sharīfa* is occasionally found, used to indicate this function of al-Bakrī.

ʿAbbās Ḥilmī, Muḥammad Tawfīq al-Bakrī found himself challenged by Muḥammad Shams al-Dīn, the *shaykh* of al-Marzūqiyya al-Aḥmadiyya. This *shaykh*, basing his objection on old *farmānāt*, maintained that Muḥammad Tawfīq had no authority over him and, moreover, that all Aḥmadiyya *ṭuruq* came under his jurisdiction.[4] To this challenge Tawfīq responded by declaring him deposed as head of the *ṭarīqa* and investing his brother Ḥasan Muḥammad Shams al-Dīn in his place. A serious conflict resulted, not only between al-Bakrī and Ḥasan's brother Muḥammad, but also within the *ṭarīqa*, between factions which rallied to their support. On all fronts the deposed *shaykh* made efforts to obtain a reversal of al-Bakrī's decision, and finally, when these were of no avail, he approched the then Prime Minister, Nūbār Bāshā.[5] The results of this move, however, bore no relation to what was intended. After consultation between Nūbār, the Minister of Justice (*nāẓir al-Ḥaqqāniyya*) and the Deputy Minister of the Interior (*wakīl al-Dākhiliyya*), it was declared that Muḥammad Shams al-Dīn's claims were unfounded and that al-Bakrī's action was legal and within his sphere of competence.

Since this had been stated at the highest government level any other chances there might still have been of obtaining re-instatement as head of al-Marzūqiyya were definitely blocked and his brother Ḥasan was to remain in office until his death in 1920.[6] In addition to this and of more importance is the fact that the declaration implied a re-confirmation of al-Bakrī's authority and also confirmed his right to appoint as well as to depose the heads of the *ṭuruq*. So the indirect outcome of Muḥammad Shams al-Dīn's move was, for al-Bakrī, a most welcome official re-assertion of the authority position which had become so void of implications for the *ṭuruq* administration under his predecessor. There can hardly be any doubt that it was owing to the positive outcome of these events which had

[4] For these *farmānāt* and Muḥammad Shams al-Dīn's claims see Shams al-Dīn, 24ff. Muḥammad had succeeded his father, equally named Muḥammad (mentioned in the list on pages 69-70), who was the son and successor of Muḥammad Muṣṭafā Shams al-Dīn (see above page 36).

[5] Cf. *Al-Ahrām*, 20 September 1892, p. 3.

[6] I owe my information about the follow-up of this case to the present head of the *ṭarīqa*, Aḥmad Muḥammad Shams al-Dīn, who gave early 1893 as the date of its termination. In the issue of *Al-Ahrām* referred to in note 5 only the initial development of the case, up to the first meeting at ministerial level on this matter, is reported. I found no references to the case in any of the issues consulted up to September 1893.

enhanced his authority that Muḥammad Tawfīq dared to intervene in the affairs of al-ʿArūsiyya and al-Qādiriyya at the end of 1892 and in the following year.

Within al-ʿArūsiyya a secessionist movement had arisen under the leadership of Muḥammad Mashīna, a Tripolitanian merchant, resident in Cairo.[7] This leader, like ʿAbd al-Karīm Manṣūr who, as *shaykh* of al-ʿArūsiyya had obtained recognition from ʿAlī al-Bakrī, had been a *khalīfa* of Ḥamūda ibn Khalīfa, the principal representative and propagator of the *ṭarīqa* in Alexandria (see above p. 76). Like ʿAbd al-Karīm, Muḥammad Mashīna had detached himself from this *shaykh* and had himself re-initiated by ʿAbd al-Salām Baḥīḥ, a *khalīfa* of the *ṭarīqa* in Tripolitania, who provided him with an *ijāza* as he had done for ʿAbd al-Karīm Manṣūr some years earlier.[8] At that time, the principle of right of *qadam* made it impossible for him to operate as an independent *shaykh* of an independent *ṭarīqa* and his only choice was to be active within the framework of al-ʿArūsiyya, within which he obtained the rank of *nāʾib*.[9] In the course of the 1880's, however, the breakdown of the *ṭarīqa* administration under ʿAbd al-Bāqī al-Bakrī made it possible for him to present himself openly and proselytize as *shaykh* of an independent ʿArūsiyya *ṭarīqa* of his own.[10] This *ṭarīqa*, however, differed from the earlier secessionist ones which spread during the era of ʿAbd al-Bāqī al-Bakrī and had obtained his recognition as independent *ṭuruq*. Their heads had merely desired to obtain legality for their *ṭuruq* and had no aspirations to the leadership of the parent *ṭuruq*, from which they had long been distinct.

Muḥammad Mashīna's *ṭarīqa* on the contrary had not differed from the original ʿArūsiyya Way either in aspects of ritual or of dogma, but had remained an exact copy of al-ʿArūsiyya under ʿAbd al-Karīm Manṣūr with whom he also had his *silsila* in common. This movement

[7] He was the *wakīl ahālī Ṭarābulus*, i.e. the *chargé d'affaires* or consular agent for the Tripolitanians travelling or resident in Cairo. For the text of the *firmān* by which he was appointed to this office, dated 26 Dhū 'l-Ḥijja 1296, see the preface to Mashīna, *Al-Anwār al-Qudsiyya*.

[8] See al-Dawyātī, *passim*.

[9] For this and other information about the history and teachings of al-ʿArūsiyya I am particularly indebted to Ibrāhīm Muḥammad al-Dawyātī, the *shaykh* of al-Dawyātiyya al-Shādhiliyya, a Salāmiyya order (see below), which did not manifest itself until after the Second World War and which has a membership mainly in and around Alexandria; and to al-Ḥājj Muḥammad ʿAlī Laghbash, a *khalīfa* of al-Salāmiyya in Cairo.

[10] Cf. Muḥammad al-Qārī, *Al-Ḥizb al-Aʿẓam wa 'l-Wird al-Afḥam*, Būlāq 1300, 87.

of secession therefore, was basically an expression of competition for pre-eminence of leadership of this *ṭarīqa* which ʿAbd al-Karīm Manṣūr was likely to lose if Muḥammad Mashīna were to succeed in drawing his *murīdūn* away from him, thus making his leadership redundant. So it must have been owing to the very nature of al-ʿArūsiyya under Muḥammad Mashīna that ʿAbd al-Bāqī al-Bakrī refrained from granting it legality as an independent *ṭarīqa*. Had he done so his action would probably have been interpreted as favouring Muḥammad Mashīna as leader of al-ʿArūsiyya instead of ʿAbd al-Karīm Manṣūr. More important, however, it would constitute a precedent which would allow any leader of a sub-section of a *ṭarīqa* not differing in ány way from the main body to push for recognition as *shaykh* of an independent *ṭarīqa* of his own. Obviously this would jeopardize the position of all the heads of the *ṭuruq*, and in self-defence they might have mounted opposition detrimental to his already shattered authority.

That these considerations must have motivated ʿAbd al-Bāqī to abstain from recognizing Muḥammad Mashīna as head of al-ʿArūsiyya is suggested, moreover, by the fact that in terms of legitimacy of leadership, as well as in terms of the number of adepts over whom this leadership was held, Muḥammad Mashīna must have been eligible for official recognition. This must have been the case at least just before 1892, the year in which ʿAbd al-Bāqī al-Bakrī died, as may be concluded from Muḥammad Mashīna's recognition by Muḥammad Tawfīq al-Bakrī one year later, in 1893.[11]

The moment of the official recognition of this section of al-ʿArūsiyya as an independent *ṭarīqa* seems to have been the outcome of two events which more or less coincided. The first of these was the official re-assertion of al-Bakrī's authority position in that year as the outcome of the dispute with the *shaykh* of al-Marzūqiyya, dealt with in a preceding paragraph. The second event was the death of ʿAbd al-Karīm Manṣūr early in 1892.[12] He had been succeeded by his son Manṣūr, a youth barely twenty years old, who must have been regarded by Muḥammad Tawfīq as a negligible factor, incapable of mounting any serious opposition to the official recognition of Muḥammad Mashīna's *ṭarīqa*. Owing to these circumstances Muḥammad Tawfīq must have felt strong enough to overcome any resistance which might

[11] Al-Dawyātī, *passim*.

[12] *Ibid.*, *passim*. ʿAbd al-Karīm's son Manṣūr, known as Manṣūr Kurayyim, died in 1931; cf. al-Sakhāwī, 62.



III. Muḥammad Tawfīq al-Bakrī in 1898.

have been set up against granting legality to Muḥammad Mashīna as *shaykh* of an independent *ṭarīqa*.

Muḥammad Tawfīq's decision to grant Muḥammad Mashīna legality must have been further motivated by his realistic appraisal that the situation was irreversible. Had he not recognized it as a separate *ṭarīqa* this would have meant that a sizeable group under viable leadership would continue to remain in a marginal position within the *ṭuruq* realm. Neither this nor the continuation of the already long-standing conflict between the two ʿArūsiyya sections would have been in the best interests of efficient administration. If official recognition were not to fall short of its aim, however, it had to be made impossible for either of the two *shaykh*s to claim pre-eminence and therefore suzerainty over the other as *shaykh* of al-ʿArūsiyya. This was effected by granting official recognition to the section of al-ʿArūsiyya under Muḥammad Mashīna, not as al-ʿArūsiyya but as al-Salāmiyya, named after ʿAbd al-Salām al-Asmar (d. 880-981 : 1475/76-1573/74), the sixteenth century revivalist of al-ʿArūsiyya, which decision made the two *ṭarīqa*s differ at least in name.[13]

Before the *ṭarīqa*'s formal recognition by Tawfīq al-Bakrī, a *fatwā* issued at Muḥammad Mashīna's request by Muḥammad al-Imbābī, the *shaykh al-Azhar*, had given respectability and substance to its existence separate from al-ʿArūsiyya by stating that it was a distinct, independent *ṭarīqa*, widespread in Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia and other parts of Africa, that it was not known to be incompatible with the *sharīʿa*, and that it had not been controversial in any way.[14] Muḥammad Mashīna himself, however, was not to live long enough to derive any satisfaction from the partial fulfilment of his aspirations. He died shortly before he was due to be recognized as *shaykh* of al-Salāmiyya and in his stead his half-brother, also named Muḥammad, was invested as the *ṭarīqa*'s *shaykh*.[15]

Another conflict, different from the ʿArūsiyya case in its origins but similar in its nature and in the way it was resolved, existed within al-Qādiriyya. From 1891 to 1892 this *ṭarīqa* had been under the

[13] According to the members of al-ʿArūsiyya, the name of their *ṭarīqa* does not refer to Aḥmad ibn ʿArūs, but to its pre-eminent position of being the *ʿarūs* (bridegroom) among the the *ṭuruq*, i.e. the *ṭarīqa* which was adhered to by the companions of the Prophet; cf. al-Barmūnī, 102ff.

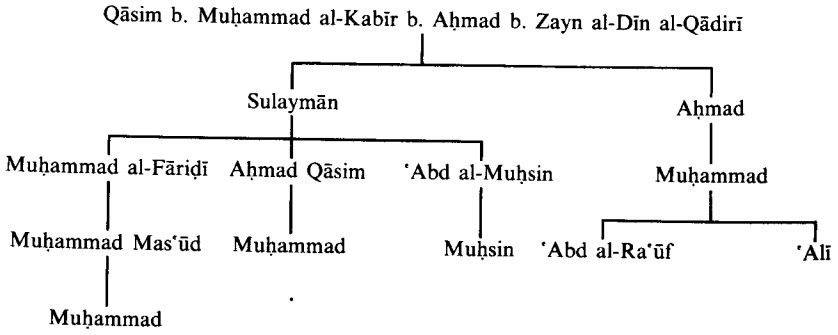
[14] For the text of this *fatwā*, dated Ṣafar 1310, see Mashīna, 8f.

[15] Cf. al-Dawyātī, *passim*.

leadership of ʿAbd al-Raʾūf.[16] He, like his cousin and predecessor Muḥammad Aḥmad, had simultaneously administered the Qādiriyya order which had been led by their common cousin and Muḥammad Aḥmad's son-in-law Muḥammad Masʿūd. The arrangement had existed since 1287 (1870) when Muḥammad Masʿūd died leaving only an infant son as his heir (see above p. 71). This son, also named Muḥammad, now wanted to take over from his cousin ʿAbd al-Raʾūf as *shaykh* of the independent Qādiriyya branch which had been led by Muḥammad's father in the days of ʿAlī al-Bakrī. As with the two sections of al-ʿArūsiyya, these two branches of al-Qādiriyya did not differ in ritual and dogma and had largely identical *salāsil*.[17] Therefore, if Muḥammad Muḥammad Masʿūd's claims for legality were not directly an expression of competition for supreme leadership of al-Qādiriyya, his official recognition as head of an independent Qādiriyya *ṭarīqa* would at least endanger the pre-eminence of ʿAbd al-Raʾūf's position. Consequently ʿAbd al-Raʾūf opposed these efforts, regarding them not in the light of a legitimate action, taken in order to obtain rights which were sanctioned by tradition, but rather as manifestations of a secessionist movement. It must, indeed, have appeared so, since after it had been administered by *shaykh*s of another Qādiriyya *ṭarīqa* for almost a quarter of a century this branch virtually merged with the other into one single *ṭarīqa*.

[16] For reference to ʿAbd al-Raʾūf as *shaykh al-sajjāda al-Qādiriyya*, see ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Dabbāgh, *Mishkāt al-ʿĀrifīn li-Ṭarīq al-Sālikīn*, Cairo 1345, 7. He held the office for only one year. His name does not appear in the *silsila* given in the *ijāzāt* which are issued by the *ṭarīqa* nowadays.

[17] I.e. ʿAbd al-Raʾūf's grandfather Aḥmad and Muḥammad's great-grandfather Sulaymān had both been initiated by their father Qāsim b. Muḥammad al-Kabīr. The following genealogical tree gives the names of the descendants of Zayn al-Dīn al-Qādirī, who were *mashāyikh* of the Qādiriyya order(s) in Egypt, from the late 18th century until the early 20th century (cf. above pp. 17, 38, and 70 f.):



ʿAbd al-Raʾūf's opposition seems to have been supported by ʿAbd al-Bāqī al Bakrī, who refrained from granting legality to Muḥammad Masʿūd as *shaykh* of an independent Qādiriyya *ṭarīqa*. Here, as in the conflict within al-ʿArūsiyya, al-Bakrī's position would have been determined by the wish to prevent further decline of his authority, which might be damaged in this case by a rebuff to Abd al-Raʾūf, one of the few heads of the *ṭuruq* who had remained actively involved in the administration (see above p. 120).

The circumstances which preceded the recognition of Muḥammad Masʿūd as *shaykh* of an independent *ṭarīqa* seem to have been very much the same as those which led to the recognition of Muḥammad Mashīna as *shaykh* of al-Salāmiyya: the death of the head of the parent *ṭarīqa* in 1892 and the reinforcement of Muḥammad Tawfīq's authority in the wake of the clash between him and the *shaykh* of al-Marāziqa more or less coincided.[18] This must have allowed Muḥammad Tawfīq to intervene and arrange for the formal settlement of the conflict, which seems to have been a requirement paramount for the restoration of efficiency to the *ṭuruq* administration: by the end of 1893 he recognized Muḥammad Masʿūd as *shaykh* of an independent *ṭarīqa*, named al-Qādiriyya al-Fāriḍiyya after Muḥammad al-Fāriḍī, Muḥammad Masʿūd's grandfather (see above p. 70). In addition, al-Qādiriyya, of which ʿAbd al-Raʾūf's brother ʿAlī had been *shaykh* since 1892, was renamed as al-Qādiriyya al-Qāsimiyya after ʿAlī's great-grandfather, Qāsim b. Muḥammad al-Kabīr, who had been *shaykh* of the *ṭarīqa* at the beginning of the 19th century.[19] As with the two branches of al-ʿArūsiyya this differentiation by name between the two Qādiriyya branches must also have been intended as a safeguard against possible claims by either of the two *shaykh*s for pre-eminence and therefore suzerainty of one over the other as head of al-Qādiriyya.

[18] Oral tradition of both the parent-*ṭarīqa*s maintains that Muḥammad Mashīna and Muḥammad Masʿūd obtained official recognition by bribing al-Bakrī.

[19] For information about this dispute, as well as for much historical and other information about the Qādiriyya in Egypt, I am indebted to ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Qādirī, the present *shaykh al-sajjāda al-Qādiriyya al-Qāsimiyya* in Egypt. He is the grandson of ʿAbd al-Raʾūf's brother ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Qādirī. I also obtained information from Maḥmūd ʿĪsā al-Shaʿrāwī, *nāʾib* of al-Qādiriyya al-Fāriḍiyya for al-Jīza province, resident in Kafr Ṭuhurmus. The present discussion is largely based upon their accounts.

b. *The Regulations of 1895*

So it was the official re-assertion of Muḥammad Tawfīq's authority in particular which seems to have determined the effectuation of a settlement of the conflicts troubling both *ṭarīqa*s. Nevertheless, the degree to which al-Bakrī could actualize his authority as *shaykh mashāyikh al-ṭuruq al-ṣūfiyya* only increased substantially when, in 1895, a set of regulations known as the *lā'iḥat al-ṭuruq al-ṣūfiyya* was promulgated by khedivial decree.[20] These regulations re-structured al-Bakrī's authority and gave it a new legal basis. Their promulgation abrogated all that was contained in the circular drawn up by ʿAbd al-Bāqī al-Bakrī in 1881. They removed the principal obstacle towards restoration of al-Bakrī's authority and marked the beginning of a new and distinct era for institutionalized Islamic mysticism in Egypt.

In his *Bayt al-Ṣiddīq*, Muḥammad Tawfīq suggests that he himself had induced its proclamation and was responsible for its contents.[21] His representation does not seem to be entirely correct, however,[22] since the *lā'iḥa* is known to have been drawn up in its final form by a council from the Ministry of the Interior which Nūbār, the then Prime Minister, had specially instituted for this task.[23] The most striking provision in these regulations must be attributed to this council's involvement : it made al-Bakrī's function of *shaykh mashāyikh al-ṭuruq al-ṣūfiyya* an office, and since it did not stipulate that its incumbent should be the *shaykh al-sajjāda al-Bakriyya*, as had been dictated by tradition for decades, but left open the possibility for appointment of anybody the khedive regarded as suitable, it transformed the authority of its incumbent from authority legitimated by tradition into authority of the rational-legal type.[24] This council must also

[20] See *Al-Waqā'i' al-Miṣriyya*, no. 67, (17 June 1895), 1426. For a translation of the *lā'iḥa* and additional notes see appendix IV.

[21] *B.S.*, 21. See also Muḥammad Tawfīq's short autobiography published in Aḥmad ʿUbayd, *Mashāhīr Shuʿarā' al-ʿAṣr fī 'l-Aqṭār al-ʿArabiyya al-Thalātha, Miṣr wa Sūriyya wa 'l-ʿIrāq*, Damascus 1922, 168ff. where a similar suggestion is made.

[22] In view of this, the judgement of M. Hartmann, who called Muḥammad Tawfīq "ein Schwätzer", seems apposite; cf. M. Hartmann, 'Der Islam 1908', *Mitt. des Sem. für Or. Sprachen zu Berlin*, xii (1909), 81.

[23] Cf. F.Or.A. 284, I/2 (12 Muḥ. 1313). Also the introductory lines to the text of the *lā'iḥa* published in *Al-Waqā'i' al-Miṣriyya* refer to such a council.

[24] Cf. art. 3 of the *lā'iḥa*. The term used is *ra'īs al-mashāyikh*. Muḥammad Tawfīq al-Bakrī introduced the term *bāb al-mashyakha*, particularly in decrees and other documents issued by him, to denote his residence as well as his position of administrative pre-eminence, presumably because of the connotation of the term *bāb* with supreme authority, owing to the custom of giving this name to the palace, court or government of a ruler, which had been prevalent since ancient times; cf. J. Deny, 'Bāb-i ʿĀlī', in *E.I.*², i, 836.

be held responsible for the fact that the Regulations set various limitations to al-Bakrī's authority, since he himself was unlikely to have had any such desire. Among these was the specific limitation contained in article 2, which stipulated that appointments of *mashāyikh* of *takāyā*,[25] *zawāyā* and shrines to which pensions and stipends from the *Dīwān al-Awqāf* were attached, would no longer be possible without permission from this *Dīwān*. The inclusion of this article is connected with a policy which had been pursued, notably after the British occupation, with the intention of reducing the power of private *nuẓẓār* of *awqāf khayriyya*.[26] It is complementary to the *lā'iḥat ijrā'āt Dīwān ʿUmūm al-Awqāf* also promulgated in 1895.[27]

The majority of the articles, however, contained restrictions which were all directly related to the more general curtailment of the autonomous actualization of al-Bakrī's authority : the Regulations provided for the setting up of a council to be known as the *Majlis al-Ṣūfī* (art. 3), which was to exercise a corporate form of jurisdiction over *ṭuruq* and *ṭuruq*-linked institutions.[28] This council, of which al-Bakrī would act as president, in accordance with the stipulations of article 3, was to consist of four permanent members and four others who would only act as their deputies. All the members were to be elected every three years from among a congregation of at least twenty *mashāyikh ṭuruq* resident in Cairo, the election to be held under the supervision of the governor of the capital and in the governorate building (Dīwān Muḥāfaẓat Miṣr).

It would be incorrect to consider the formation of this council as a formalization or a continuation of the councils which were occasionally convened to settle disputes in the days of ʿAlī al-Bakrī.[29]

[25] At the time Muḥammad Tawfīq assumed office, three more heads of *takāyā*, in addition to the ones mentioned in the preceding chapter, had obtained legality through appointment or recognition by al-Bakrī. These were the takīyat al-Jamāliyya, the takīyat Qanṭarat Sunqur and the takīyat al-Manshiyya; cf. F.Or.A. 385, II/78 (1311). About these *takāyā* no particulars are known.

[26] G. Baer, *A History of Landownership in Modern Egypt 1800-1950*, London 1962, 171; and *idem*, 'Waqf reform in Egypt', *Middle Eastern Affairs, Number One, St. Antony's Papers, no. 4* (London 1958), 66.

[27] See *Al-Waqā'i' al-Miṣriyya*, 20 July 1895, no. 82, 1816f.

[28] Kahle reports erroneously that this council was known as "*majlis muḥaṣṣiṣ li'l-ṣūfiyya*"; cf. Kahle, 'Zur Organisation', 149.

[29] For such a view see 'Aḥkām', *Al-Jarīda al-Qaḍā'iyya*, 10.

The function of the earlier councils was merely mediatory and al-Bakrī was in no way obliged to act in accordance with decisions or recommendations made by the members. The newly instituted council was of a different nature: it was to function similarly to a Shar'iyya Court (art. 9) with full and exclusive judicial powers in all matters pertaining to the *ṭuruq* (cf. arts. 1 and 9), including disputes about the right of *qadam* which, although it had become an almost redundant principle, had not yet been formally abandoned. Moreover, the opinions of the members of the new council could not be dismissed at will by al-Bakrī, since the *lā'iḥa* stipulated that its decisions concerning the *ṭuruq* would only be valid if taken by majority vote. To enforce its resolutions, the government agencies — with the exception of the judiciary which had ceased to play a rôle in the effectuation of authority — could be called upon in accordance with established practice. Such action had to be initiated by al-Bakrī who, as the Council's president, was entrusted with the implementation of the decisions taken (cf. art. 10).

The Regulations restricted traditional rights of the *shaykh al-sajjāda al-Bakriyya*, but nevertheless they did provide Muḥammad Tawfīq with an instrument for regaining over the *ṭuruq* and *ṭuruq*-linked institutions the authority which had faded so dramatically under his predecessor, and which he must have desired to restore.[30] With respect to the *takāyā*, *zawāyā* and shrines, the Regulations put his authority under the supervision of the *Dīwān al-Awqāf*, but at the same time reaffirmed the legality of his jurisdiction over these institutions, including the *takāyā* whose heads had asserted their independence under 'Abd al-Bāqī al-Bakrī. In the case of the *ṭuruq*, al-Bakrī's authority was restricted, since they stipulated that decisions relative to these associations had to be agreed upon by the *Majlis al-Ṣūfī*, and they also gave the *mashāyikh al-ṭuruq* internal autonomy again, each within his own *ṭarīqa* (art. 12).

[30] In my paper 'Ṭuruq and ṭuruq-opposition in 20th century Egypt' I argued that Muḥammad Tawfīq's authority was in need of the reconfirmation given by the *lā'iḥa* since "a number of schismatic orders had arisen, and also new *ṭuruq* which refused to recognize him as *shaykh mashāyikh al-ṭuruq al-ṣūfiyya*, had been introduced into Egypt". At that time, however, I had not yet traced the majority of the documents relative to the *ṭuruq* in archival collections in Egypt, upon which much of the present study is based, nor had I traced the English version of the circular issed by 'Abd al-Bāqī, preserved at the PRO, London. Therefore, it was not then possible to interpret the proclamation of the *lā'iḥa* as a reconfirmation of al-Bakrī's authority which had declined as the result of the circular issued by 'Abd al-Bāqī.

The return to the situation before 1881 was only partial, since in a case of dispute between the head of the *ṭarīqa* and one of his disciples, the Regulations (art. 13) gave the disciple the opportunity of presenting his claims to the Council, whose right to deal with the matter and to arrange for a settlement implied a certain continuation of the curtailment of the autonomy of the heads of the *ṭuruq*. But it was also decreed that all the heads of the *ṭuruq* at the time of its promulgation were to remain in their offices (art. 14). The implication of this was that from now on none of the heads of the *ṭuruq* who had been officially recognized during the era of 'Abd al-Bāqī al-Bakrī could claim legality of tenure unless the claims were founded on the contents of the relevant article. Since this article was an integral part of the Regulations, acceptance of their totality had become a *conditio sine qua non* for every head of a *ṭarīqa* who wanted to maintain his status as legal head of a *ṭarīqa* which was officially recognized. Thereby the authority of the incumbent of the office of *shaykh mashāyikh al-ṭuruq al-ṣūfiyya*, as this had been re-structured by the Regulations, had to be accepted concomitantly. As this office was held by Muḥammad Tawfīq al-Bakrī, who was *shaykh al-sajjāda al-Bakriyya*, it may be argued that the Regulations were instrumental in the re-actualization of the authority of the *shaykh al-sajjāda al-Bakriyya* over the *ṭuruq*, which authority had become so insignificant in the decade before Muḥammad Tawfīq's accession to office.

The Regulations, however, made no alteration in this respect for the officially recognized *ṭuruq* whose heads were not resident in Cairo and which had a membership mainly in rural areas, far from the capital. On the contrary, the ordinance consolidated their marginal position by stipulating that the General Assembly, which was to elect the members of the *Majlis al-Ṣūfī* every three years, would be made up from the heads of the *ṭuruq* resident in Cairo exclusively. This arrangement must have owed its existence primarily to the desire for administrative effectiveness, which would be hampered if the members of the Council had to come from outside the capital. To the heads of these *ṭuruq*, however, this arrangement meant that they would be under the jurisdiction of a number of their equals who were members of a Council whose composition they could not determine. This must have induced some among them to continue their policy of non-involvement with the *ṭuruq* administration, a course of action which seems to have caused at least four *ṭuruq*, viz. al-Misallimiyya,

al-Shahāwiyya al-Burhāmiyya, al-Hāshimiyya and al-Makkiyya al-Fāsiyya,[31] to lose their status of official recognition.[32]

c. *The amended Regulations of 1903*

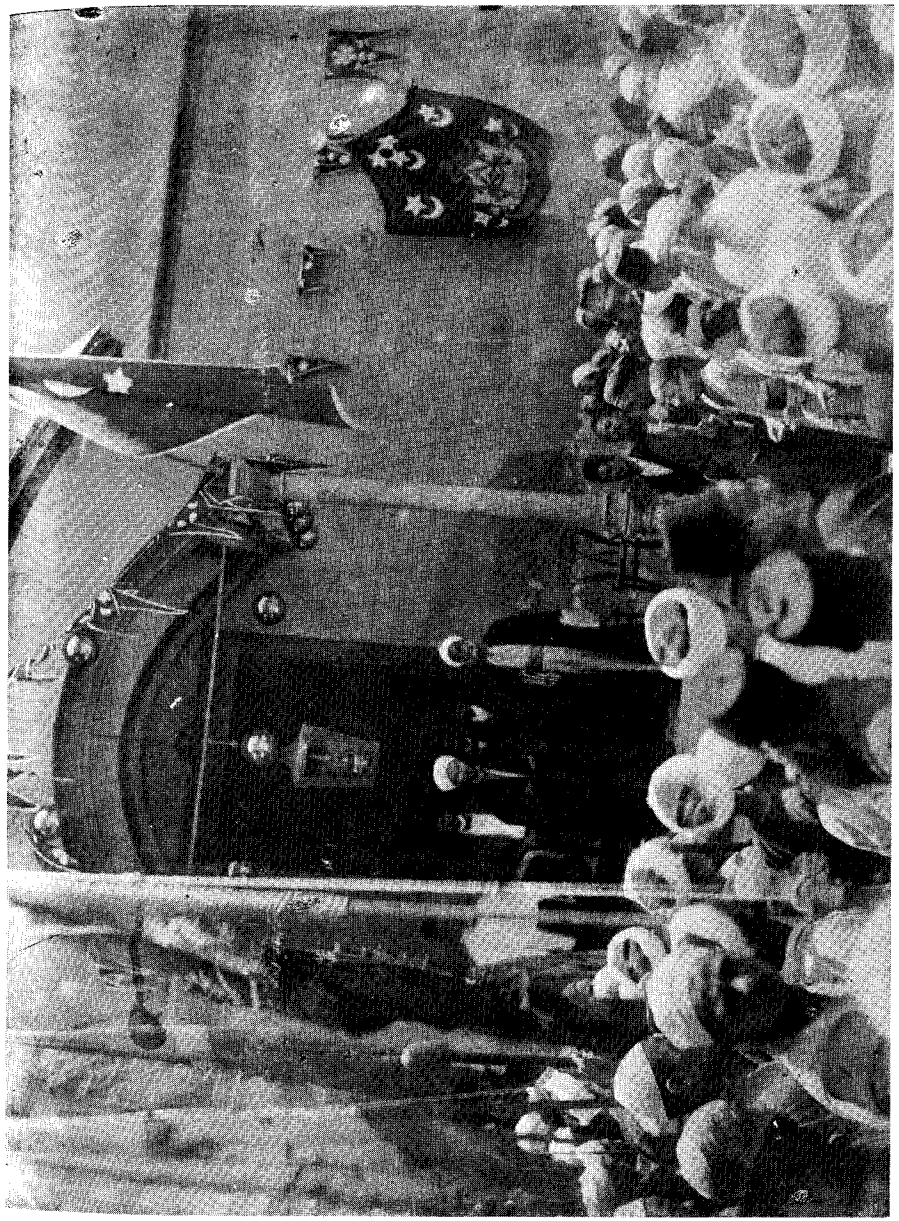
At the end of 1895, shortly after Nūbār had resigned and Muṣṭafā Fahmī had formed a new cabinet, Muḥammad Tawfīq made various efforts to amend the Regulations in order to obtain greater autonomy. The amendments he proposed aimed at annulling the control of the *Dīwān al-Awqāf*. Supervision of all the *takāyā*, *zawāyā* and shrines, as well as of their *awqāf* and all the *awqāf* with "*al-ṣūfiyya*" as beneficiaries, was to rest with him. Furthermore, he suggested that the rôle of the *muḥāfiẓ* in the elections of the Ṣūfī Council should be abolished and that the elections be held in future in the palace of al-Bakrī instead of in the *muḥāfaẓa* building. Presumably he made the latter proposal because the original arrangement suggested a suzerainty which he would have regarded as derogatory to the social prestige of the office of *shaykh mashāyikh al-ṭuruq al-ṣūfiyya* as well as to his own person. He also proposed giving the members of the various *ṭuruq* the right to appeal to the Ṣūfī Council against decisions by the heads of their *ṭuruq*. Moreover, he wanted the resolutions and decisions passed by the Council to be applicable to everyone designating himself as *ṣūfī*.[33]

Few of the proposed amendments were acceptable to Muṣṭafā Fahmī, the Prime Minister, who as a minister in Nūbār's cabinet had been responsible for the proclamation of the Regulations. In particular, al-Bakrī's wish for control of *awqāf khayriyya* was contrary to Muṣṭafā Fahmī's policy, which aimed at a further reduction of the powers of private *nuẓẓār* of these *awqāf*. In accordance with this policy and

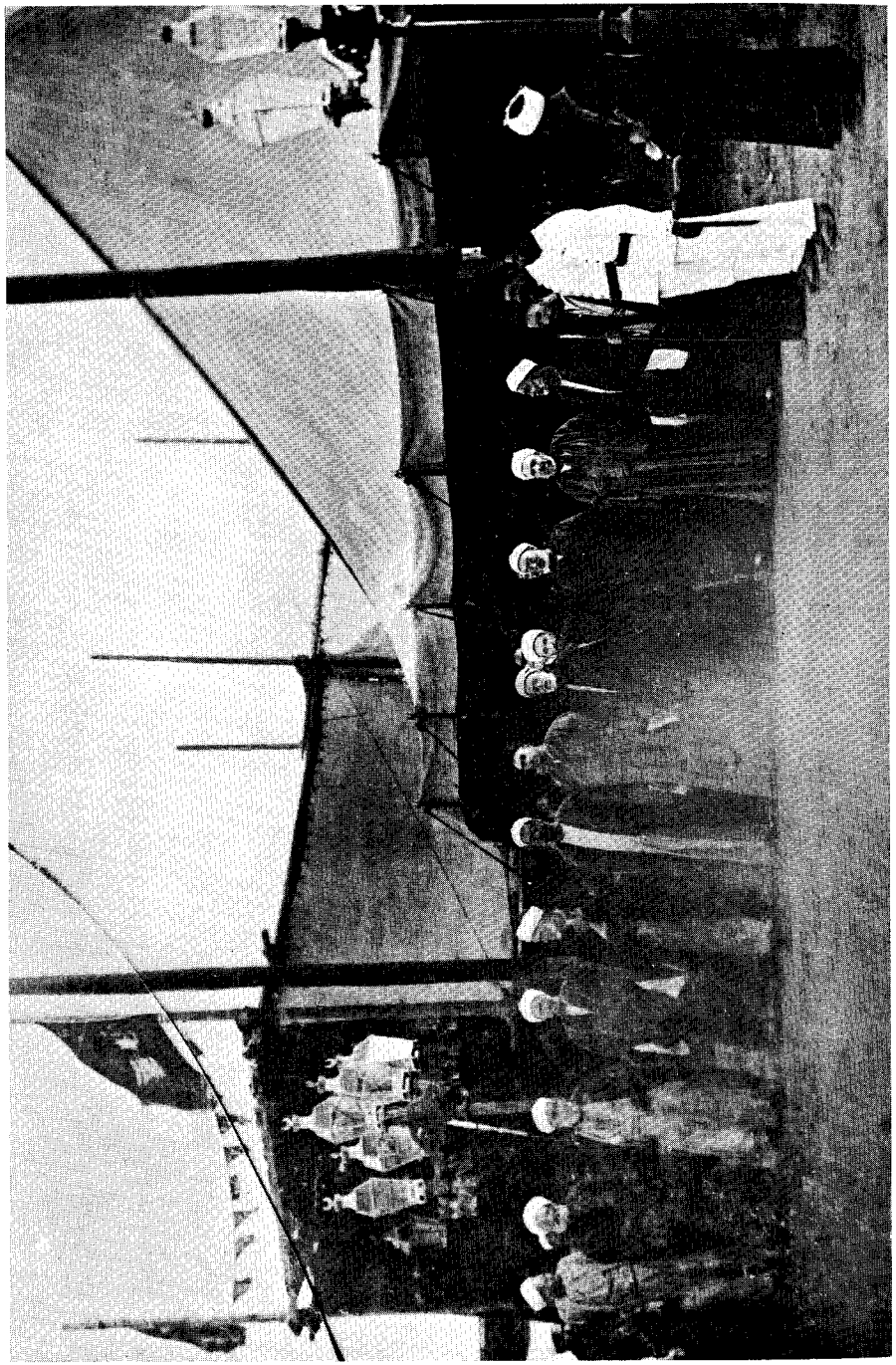
[31] The *mashāyikh* of the first three *ṭuruq* mentioned resided in Khalwat Abū Misallim (al-Sharqiyya province), Shuhā (al-Daqahliyya), and Balaqṭar (al-Buḥayra) respectively. In this period, the history of al-Makkiyya al-Fāsiyya is obscure. However, since it is among these *ṭuruq*, it seems likely that 'Abd al-Bāqī, the officially recognized *shaykh* of the *ṭarīqa*, who lived in Cairo, had died by then and was succeeded by a *shaykh* living outside the capital. This may well have been Maḥmūd 'Afīf al-Dīn al-Wafā'ī, who was one of the *ṭarīqa*'s pre-eminent *khulafā'* in Ṭanṭā (see p. 108).

[32] This episode has not been recorded, either in oral tradition of these *ṭuruq* or in any of their publications. However, all these *ṭuruq* are known to have lost their status as officially recognized *ṭuruq* before 1906 (cf. the list of *ṭuruq* given in chapter 5, art. 7 of the *lā'iḥa al-dākhiliyya* of 1905 in appendix VI).

[33] DWQ, unclassified *mudhakkira* from *Dīwān al-Awqāf* to *Dīwān al-Khudaywī* (Rās al-Tīn), 11 July 1899. See also F.Or.A. 284, V/9-22 being the draft for a new *lā'iḥa* drawn up by Muḥammad Tawfīq al-Bakrī.



IV. Muḥammad Tawfīq al-Bakrī receives the *ṭuruq* in his palace in al-Khurunfish during the celebrations of the *mawlid al-nabī*.



V. Muḥammad Tawfīq al-Bakrī and some of the *mashāyikh al-ṭuruq* photographed during the *mawlid al-nabī* celebrations.

notwithstanding al-Bakrī's efforts to mobilize opposition against it, *niẓārāt* of *awqāf* in support of the *ṭuruq* and the *ṭuruq*-linked institutions were taken over by the *Dīwān*. The *Dīwān* also reserved to itself the right to appoint the heads of *takāyā* and *zawāyā*;[34] not only the heads who were in charge of a residential community restricted to members of their own particular *ṭarīqa*, like e.g. the head of the takīyat al-Naqshbandiyya near al-Ḥabbāniyya and the head of the takīyat al-Rifā'iyya at Būlāq, but also the heads of the *takāyā* who were at the same time supreme heads of *ṭuruq*, viz. the heads of al-Mawlawiyya, al-Gulshaniyya, and al-Bektāshiyya. This brought a further decrease in the area over which Muḥammad Tawfīq al-Bakrī's authority applied, since formal appointment by the *Dīwān al-Awqāf* of the heads of these *takāyā* — which were the only centres of these *ṭuruq* in Egypt and the only places where their limited membership gathered in communal ritual activity — also implied for them legality of tenure as heads of their *ṭuruq*. Thus, for legality of tenure and all that this implied, these dignitaries were no longer dependent upon formal appointment by the *shaykh mashāyikh al-ṭuruq al-ṣūfiyya*, but obtained legality of tenure as heads of *ṭuruq* from a government agency. This arrangement detached these orders from the *ṭuruq* administration and placed them in a position marginal to the *ṭuruq* realm, in which condition they were to remain until the closure of all *takāyā* in Egypt after the revolution of 1952.

In June 1903, following these reforms, the *lā'iḥat al-ṭuruq al-ṣūfiyya* was amended accordingly.[35] All *takāyā*, *zawāyā* and shrines supported by *awqāf* and with stipends and customary payments from any source whatsoever, as well as any of these establishments whose founder had not made provisions for the appointment of a *nāẓir*, were excluded from the jurisdiction of the *mashyakhat al-ṭuruq al-ṣūfiyya* (art. 2). This measure left Muḥammad Tawfīq al-Bakrī, as the incumbent to that office, with authority over only a few of the *ṭuruq*-linked institutions. Therefore, in his *Bayt al-Ṣiddīq* published in 1906, he did not deem it worthwhile to make more than an occasional reference to this area of his authority, while the very insigni-

[34] See *Al-Waqā'i' al-Miṣriyya*, no. 61, 3 June 1903, 997f.

[35] For a translation of the amended articles of the new *lā'iḥa*, which was published in *Al-Waqā'i' al-Miṣriyya*, *ibid.*, see appendix V. For a French summary see *RMM*, vi (1908), 283f.

ficance of the establishments over which it still applied, must have inhibited him from mentioning any particular names.[36]

In addition to this amendment the clauses pertaining to the composition of the Ṣūfī Council were also revised (art. 3). The General Assembly, which was to elect the Ṣūfī Council, would not be restricted to the heads of the *ṭuruq* residing in Cairo, but would encompass the heads of all the officially recognized *ṭuruq* wherever they resided. Thus the heads of the *ṭuruq* living in the provinces also obtained the right to elect and to be elected as members of the Ṣūfī Council. This amendment must have been included to end their marginal position within the *ṭuruq* administration, since they must have felt a lack of commitment to the decisions taken by their equals in the Ṣūfī Council in Cairo. This would have been more detrimental to the efficiency of the administration than the fact that its proceedings might be hampered if one or more of the Council's members resided outside the capital.

In accordance with the expansion of the number of heads of the *ṭuruq* who now had the right to attend the General Assembly, the number of those who were required to be present in order to make the elections of the Ṣūfī Council valid, was raised to twenty-five. As an additional change, however, these heads would no longer elect four permanent members and four deputies, but would now elect eight persons from their midst; and the right to select from among these eight the four permanent members of the Council would reside with the *shaykh mashāyikh al-ṭuruq al-ṣūfiyya*. The peculiarity of this procedure of composing the Council makes it seem very much a compromise solution between al-Bakrī on the one hand, who wanted as much autonomy as possible in the exercise of his authority, and those in the government administration on the other, who wanted to reduce his personal authority and powers for reasons of power politics, or because they adhered to rational-legal principles.

[36] Cf. *B.S.*, 380. In this book no reference is made to jurisdiction of the *shaykh al-sajjāda al-Bakriyya* over the *mashāyikh qirā'at Dalā'il al-Khayrāt*, the *mashāyikh qirā'at al-Burda*, the *mashāyikh qirā'at al-Ḥizb* and the *mashyakhat al-maqāri'*. Since all these categories of officials derived an income from revenues of *awqāf khayriyya*, their position must have been affected by the *awqāf* reforms of 1895 and 1903. This must have entailed the end of al-Bakrī's authority over them some time before 1906, when *Bayt al-Ṣiddīq* was published, but not until after 1897, since Ilyās Zakhūrā in his *Mir'āt al-'Aṣr*, published in that year, mentions these officials as belonging to al-Bakrī's area of jurisdiction; cf. Zakhūrā, i, 224 *ẓ*.

For Muḥammad Tawfīq at any rate, this arrangement implied a mitigation of the degree to which his personal authority could be restricted by the Council's members since, from now on, anyone disagreeing with al-Bakrī could be replaced by one of the other elected members. By this arrangement al-Bakrī had obtained every opportunity for obstructing the implementation of any policy decided upon by the Council's members which ran contrary to his personal views, and could have his decisions accepted under the semblance of a more or less democratic procedure.

A new and additional article was included (art. 12) which stated emphatically that no fees were to be taken for cases examined by the Ṣūfī Council, the *wukalā'* of *al-mashyakha* or the heads of the *ṭuruq*. This article was clearly intended as a safeguard against unfair administration of justice. Concomitantly it must have been intended as a contribution to the efficiency of the *ṭuruq* administration by freely encouraging those involved in a conflict to seek a settlement by submitting it for investigation and possible mediation to the Ṣūfī Council, if the dispute occurred in Cairo, and to the agents of the *mashyakha* if the dispute had taken place in the provinces. The latter task, which had traditionally been one of the functions of the *wakīl*, was formulated explicitly in article 13.

Article 12, referred to above, also contained a clause which stipulated that no fees were to be taken for the appointments to the various offices within the *ṭuruq* and the *ṭuruq*-administration. However, in this case as well as in the case of mediation or jurisdiction, it merely meant that no official fees were applicable. It does not seem to have been of any consequence for the transfer of money and/or goods as bribes or as a precondition for anybody who was about to be appointed to any office within the hierarchy of the *ṭuruq*.[37]

Besides this amendment and a few changes in terminology, two major additions desired by al-Bakrī were made to these new Regulations. The first of these (art. 13) stipulated that any member of a *ṭarīqa*, *murīd* as well as *khalīfa* or higher official, had the right to appeal to the Ṣūfī Council against decisions by the *shaykh* of his *ṭarīqa*. Here the decrease of internal autonomy of the *mashāyikh al-ṭuruq* corresponded to an increase of al-Bakrī's power, since it opened the way for his direct intervention in the internal affairs of the

[37] According to Le Chatelier, the Aḥmadiyya orders in particular were notorious for this practice; cf. Le Chatelier, *Confréries*, 174.

various *ṭuruq*. The second addition (cf. art. 5) stipulated that all the resolutions and decisions of the Ṣūfī Council were applicable to any person or group acting in any way in the name of *taṣawwuf*. This provided a legal base for the exercise of authority over those belonging to *ṭuruq* which were not officially recognized, without changing the status of these *ṭuruq* in any respect. The *ṭuruq* within this category had come to include Naqshbandiyya, Shādhiliyya and Khalwatiyya branches as well as al-Tijāniyya and al-Sanūsiyya.

d. *Ṭuruq without official status*

Three different versions of al-Naqshbandiyya had found their way into Egypt at the end of the nineteenth century. The first of these was introduced into Egypt by a Sudanese, al-Sharīf Ismā'īl al-Sinnārī,[38] who had himself been initiated into al-Naqshbandiyya by various *mashāyikh* of this *ṭarīqa* during periods of residence in Mecca and Madina.[39] In the early sixties he had tried to obtain a following for himself in Cairo.[40] When he did not meet with success there he went back to the Sudan where his proselytizing remained confined to the Dunqulā area. From here the *ṭarīqa* spread north into Upper Egypt, particularly from about 1870 onwards, under the patronage and owing to the effort of the *qāḍī* of Dunqulā, Mūsā Mu'awwaḍ, who was a *khalīfa* of Ismā'īl and had become his successor.[41] At the end of his life Mūsā Mu'awwaḍ moved from Dunqulā and settled in Binbān, north of Aswān. From here he propagated his *ṭarīqa*. It spread in particular between Aswān and Isnā' among the Ja'āfira,[42]

[38] For biographical data see Aḥmad Muḥammad Aḥmad Dā'ūd al-Ja'firī al-Ramādī, *Al-Bākūra al-Ja'firiyya li-Sharḥ Silsilat al-Sāda al-Naqshbandiyya*, Cairo n.d. (approx. 1343), 24f.

[39] He had been initiated by Muḥammad Jāmī (cf. Aḥmad Ḥilmī, *Ḥadīqat al-Awliyā'*, vol. i, Istanbul 1318, 161), by Muḥammad Abū Sa'īd Zādeh, and by Aḥmad Mullā al-Kurdī (cf. al-Rakhāwī, 223).

[40] Here the most notable of his disciples was 'Umar Haykal al-Shabrāwī, later a propagator of al-Khalwatiyya, who integrated both Ways; cf. Aḥmad 'Abd al-Mun'im 'Abd al-Salām al-Ḥalwānī, *Al-Quṭb al-Rabbānī Sīdī 'Abd al-Salām al-Ḥalwānī*, Cairo 1970, 98, and 'Uthmān, 14. On 'Umar see page 146f.

[41] For biographical data, see al-Ramādī, 25ff., and Ḥusayn Muḥammad al-Rifā'ī, *Nūr al-Anwār fī Faḍā'il wa Tarājim wa Tawārikh wa Manāqib wa Mazārāt Āl al-Bayt al-Aṭhār*, Cairo 1356, 16ff.

[42] On this tribe, which had migrated to Egypt in the 10th century A.D., see Aḥmad Luṭfī al-Sayyid, *Qabā'il al-'Arab fī Miṣr, Al-Juz' al-Awwal: Al-'Alayqāt wa 'l-Ja'āfira wa Qabā'il Ukhrā*, Cairo 1935, 66ff. For genealogical tables of al-Ja'āfira see Ḥusayn Muḥammad al-Rifā'ī, *Baḥr al-Ansāb*, Cairo 1356, 233ff.

a tribe to which he himself belonged. After Mūsā Mu'awwaḍ's death in 1888, the *ṭarīqa*'s leadership passed to Muḥammad al-Laythī, a son of al-Sharīf Ismā'īl[43] who, at the beginning of the present century, was succeeded by Mūsā's son Muḥammad.[44]

A second Naqshbandiyya branch had emerged under the leadership of Jūda Ibrāhīm (1264-1351 : 1848-1932).[45] This *shaykh* had been initiated into numerous other *ṭuruq*[46] before his initiation into al-Naqshbandiyya by Aḥmad Ḍiyā' al-Dīn al-Kümüshkhānalī when the latter visited Egypt in 1293 (1876). Restricted to Cairo, Aḥmad Ḍiyā' al-Dīn's version of al-Naqshbandiyya, known after him as al-Ḍiyā'iyya, had found an active following since 1268 (1851/52) at least, when the khedive 'Abbās I founded a *ṭakīya* for al-Kümüshkhānalī's disciple Muḥammad Efendī 'Āshiq (see above p. 82). After 'Āshiq's death in 1883 his grandson 'Uthmān Khālid had succeeded him as *shaykh* of the *ṭakīya*. Following the initiation by al-Kümüshkhānalī, however, Jūda Ibrāhīm established himself as *shaykh* of a *ṭarīqa* entirely independent of al-Ḍiyā'iyya in Cairo. Moreover, he amended the original Ḍiyā'iyya, which became known as al-Jūdiyya[47] and gained a following in al-Sharqiyya province, particularly in and around Minyā al-Qamḥ, where he resided.

At the end of the nineteenth century al-Khālidiyya proper (see above p. 82) also expanded into Egypt owing to the proselytizing activity of a Kurd named Muḥammad Amīn (1840-1913). Muḥammad Amīn[48]

[43] Al-Ramādī, 26. The belief of the *ṭarīqa*'s members that Ismā'īl, who disappeared in the jungle of Baḥr al-Ghazāl province in the southern Sudan, did not die but merely went into hiding, while still miraculously fighting the unbelievers in the area, is reminiscent of the *Shī'a* doctrine of the hidden Imām. For various *qaṣa'id* of the *ṭarīqa*, frequently sung as part of the *ḥaḍra*, referring to this belief see Muṣṭafā Ḥāmid Aḥmad al-Kajūjī, *Dīwān al-Bahiyya fī Madīḥ Khayr al-Barriyya wa Qaṣā'id Naqshbandiyya*, ii vols., Cairo n.d.; Yūsuf Aḥmad al-Kayyāl al-Bimbānī, *Madḥ al-'Ushshāq fī Ṭurfat al-Mushtāq*, n.p. 1379; and the anonymous *Nuskha Jawhariyya li'l-Sāda al-Naqshbandiyya wa yalihā al-Silsila al-Dhahabiyya wa Qaṣā'id Khamriyya*, Cairo 1947.

[44] Al-Ramādī, 37.

[45] For his biography, see al-Rakhāwī, 265ff.

[46] E.g. into al-Misallimiyya, al-Qādiriyya, al-Rifā'iyya, al-Burhāmiyya, al-Aḥmadiyya, al-Čistiyya and al-Shādhiliyya; cf. *ibid.* 266.

[47] For the *ṭarīqa*'s liturgy see *Al-Tawassulāt al-Marḍiyya bi-Asmā' Allāh wa bi-Rijāl al-Silsila al-Naqshbandiyya al-Khālidiyya al-Jūdiyya*, Ziftā 1347.

[48] His biography, upon which this account is based, precedes his *Tanwīr al-Qulūb fī Mu'āmalat 'Allām al-Ghuyūb*, Cairo 1343 (several editions). It is written by his *khalīfa* Salāma al-'Azāmī. Another biography of this *shaykh* is found in Muḥammad Amīn Zakī, *Mashāhīr al-Kurd wa Kurdistan*, ii vols. Cairo 1947, ii, 143f. This author mentions that al-Kurdī has also been *wakīl* to the riwāq al-Akrād, the hostel of the

had already been in Cairo for over a decade, since 1304 (1886/87) before he started to manifest himself as the dominant propagator of this *ṭarīqa*. He had been initiated in his early youth in his birthplace, Arbil, by a certain *shaykh* 'Umar,[49] a *khalīfa* of one of Khālid al-Shahrazūrī's disciples, 'Uthmān al-Kurdī.[50] Initially Muḥammad Amīn's followers had been limited to Cairo only, where regular *jalasāt*[51] were held in the mosques of Abū 'l-'Alā' and Sinān Bāshā, both in Būlāq. About the turn of the century, however, his proselytizing caused the *ṭarīqa* to spread into rural areas north of Cairo, mainly in al-Qalyūbiyya province.

Among the representatives of various Shādhiliyya branches who claimed leadership of independent *ṭuruq* which did not count among those officially recognized, was Muḥammad 'Abd al-Qādir. He was the son and successor of the principal *khalīfa* of Muḥammad Ḥasan b. Ḥamza Ẓāfir al-Madanī in Alexandria, 'Abd al-Qādir b. 'Abd al-Salām (cf. p. 109). The followers of 'Abd al-Qādir had been confined to the Alexandria area in particular, and his son Muḥammad, who assumed leadership of this *ṭarīqa* after his father's death in 1297 (1880), did not expand his following beyond this region either. Muḥammad 'Abd al-Qādir, however, presented himself as *shaykh* of a *ṭarīqa* distinct from al-Madaniyya, known as al-Qādiriyya al-Madaniyya al-Shādhiliyya at the time of his death in 1322 (1904), when one of his disciples, Muḥammad al-Ḥabashī, succeeded him as the *ṭarīqa*'s *shaykh*.[52]

A new Shādhiliyya branch had also emerged in Ṭanṭā out of al-Makkiyya al-Fāsiyya, which in this city had been under the leadership of Maḥmūd 'Afīf al-Dīn al-Wafā'ī (see p. 108). Before his death in May 1900 he made known to his disciples that he had elected one of them, Muḥammad Aḥmad al-'Aqqād (1852-1950),[53] as his successor. After Maḥmūd's death, however, a number of the *ṭarīqa*'s members

Kurdish students enrolled at al-Azhar. This detail of his career is omitted in the former biography by al-'Azāmī.

[49] For his biography see Muḥammad Amīn al-Kurdī, *Khulāṣat Kitāb al-Mawāhib al-Sarmadiyya fī Manāqib al-Sāda al-Naqshbandiyya*, Cairo 1374, 102ff.

[50] For his biography, *ibid.*, 95ff.

[51] Litt. session, i.e. the equivalent of *ḥaḍra* in the terminology of the *ṭarīqa*.

[52] This is the contention of 'Alī Ḥasan 'Abd al-Qādir ('Ajūza, Cairo), who is the son of Ḥasan Muḥammad Zayn al-'Ābidīn, the last active *shaykh* of this *ṭarīqa*. For this contention, however, no indication can be found in Muḥammad 'Abd al-Qādir Zayn al-'Ābidīn, *Dalīl al-Ḥā'ir*, which is the chief source of the history of the *ṭarīqa*.

[53] For his biography see Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Muḥsin, *Murshid al-Sālikīn ilā Ṭarīq al-Muhtadīn*, Cairo 1927, 46ff.

refused to pay allegiance to al-'Aqqād and constituted a separate group under the leadership of one of al-Wafā'ī's *khulafā'*, Nasīm Ḥilmī al-Daramahlī (1258-1343 : 1842-1925).[54] Nasīm continued to propagate al-Fāsiyya as a *ṭarīqa* detached from al-'Aqqād's *ṭarīqa*, and renamed by him after his spiritual master al-Shādhiliyya al-Wafā'iyya.[55] After Nasīm's death in 1925, however, his followers and his son Maḥmūd[56] paid their allegiance to Muḥammad al-'Aqqād as their supreme spiritual leader and the section of al-Fāsiyya which had been led by Nasīm was formally incorporated into his *ṭarīqa*.

The most notable and wide-spread of the Khalwatiyya branches not officially recognized was al-Ṣāwiyya. For reasons unknown this *ṭarīqa* had ceased to be an officially recognized one sometime after 1296 (1879), when its *shaykh* Aḥmad Ḍayf (cf. p. 74) died and no successor was appointed. The existence of the *ṭarīqa* was not affected by this, however, and it continued to have an active membership, notably in the area of Kafr al-'Ammār in al-Jīza province.[57] Here the principal leader was 'Alī 'Abd al-Bāqī al-Shādhilī, who was the cousin of Muḥammad al-Shādhilī, the *shaykh* of al-Ṣāwiyya who had died in 1289 (1872/3).[58] In Cairo the pre-eminent representatives of the *ṭarīqa* were 'Abd Allāh al-Maghribī (d. 1341 : 1922/3), a disciple of the latter,[59] and Abū Bakr al-Ḥaddād (d. 1335 : 1917),[60] whose father Muḥammad Shaḥāta al-Ḥaddād (1218-1281 : 1803/4-1864/5)[61] was a *khalīfa* of one of Aḥmad al-Ṣāwī's disciples, Fatḥ Allāh al-Sammadīsī.[62] In al-Rawḍā (Asyūṭ province) it was a son-in-law

[54] For his biography see *ibid.*, 69ff.; and al-Kūhin, 232. The refusal of Nasīm and his disciples to acknowledge Muḥammad Aḥmad al-'Aqqād as *shaykh* over them in succession to al-Wafā'ī is touched upon only incidentally in the booklet mentioned in note 53. This booklet was published under the auspices of Muḥammad Aḥmad al-'Aqqād after the incorporation of Nasīm's followers into his own *ṭarīqa*. I owe my information about the actual length of this schism to 'Abd al-Ḥakīm Surūr, *khalīfa* of the principal *zāwiya* of al-'Aqqādiyya near the mosque of al-Sayyida Zaynab in Cairo. Al-'Aqqādiyya as the name for the independent branch of al-Fāsiyya which had originally been under the leadership of al-'Aqqād was not adopted until several decades later and therefore has not been used in this study.

[55] This *ṭarīqa* is entirely different from al-Wafā'iyya led by members of the Sādāt family.

[56] For his biography see al-Kūhin, 234.

[57] Various *mashāyikh* of this *ṭarīqa* mentioned in the following paragraphs are already referred to in chapter III, section f.

[58] Al-Maghribī, 149.

[59] *Ibid.*, 146.

[60] *Ibid.* 150f. His *khalīfa* Ḥusayn al-Fīl spread the *ṭarīqa* in the Sudan; cf. *ibid.*

[61] For his biography see *Khiṭ.*, ix, 96f.

[62] Al-Maghribī, 149.

of ʿAbd al-Bāqī al-Shādhilī, ʿAlī al-ʿImrānī, who was the principal leader of the *ṭarīqa*.[63] In addition to these *mashāyikh*, who had all presented the various Ways propagated by them as al-Ṣāwiyya, a certain ʿAbd al-Jawwād al-Mansafīsī, a disciple of one of Aḥmad al-Ṣāwī's *khulafāʾ*, Aḥmad Abū 'l-Layl,[64] propagated the Ṣāwiyya Way in Upper Egypt under the name of al-Mansafīsiyya, which spread in Asyūṭ and al-Minyā provinces in particular.[65]

Another Khalwatiyya branch, al-ʿImrāniyya, named after Ibrāhīm al-Shalqānī al-ʿImrānī, one of the *khulafāʾ* of Aḥmad al-Dardayr, also had an active membership in al-Minyā. For almost twenty years, until his death in 1892, the principal leader of this *ṭarīqa* had been Ḥasan Riḍwān Muḥammad (cf. p. 123); after a period of study at al-Azhar, he took charge of the resident community of about five hundred mystics in al-Sirīriyya (al-Minyā province), which had been led by his master ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Mallawī, a *khalīfa* of Ibrāhīm al-Shalqānī.[66] Here he remained for a period of seven years, until 1272 (1855) after which he resided for varying periods in villages in the area where his followers increased.[67] At the end of his life he settled in Bardūna al-Ashrāf near Banī Mazār, where he died and was buried in a shrine he had built for himself.[68] This village became the centre of the *ṭarīqa* from that time onwards under the leadership of his son and successor Muḥammad Abū 'l-Fatḥ.

To the north, in the *markaz* Maghāgha, was situated the village of al-Qāyāt: this was the centre of a Khalwatiyya branch, al-Qāyātiyya, which for a period between 1882 and 1888 had been deprived of its *shaykh*, Muḥammad al-Qāyātī, who had been punished for his part in the ʿUrābī insurrection by a five year exile in Beirut (cf. p. 122f.). When Muḥammad died in 1902 his son, ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, succeeded him as *shaykh* of this *ṭarīqa*.[69]

Two other notable Khalwatiyya branches existed in Upper Egypt, one in Qinā province and the other in the region of Banī Suwayf and al-Fayyūm. The former of these had been established by Aḥmad

[63] *Ibid.*, and Shuhdī, 20f.
[64] *Ibid.*, 152.
[65] *Ibid.*, 152 and al-Mansafīsī, *passim*.
[66] Riḍwān, preface, 4.
[67] These villages were Ṣafṭ Abū Jirj (*markaz* Banī Mazār), Abā 'l-Waqf (*markaz* Maghāgha) and Ibshāq al-Ghazāl (*markaz* Banī Mazār).
[68] *Ibid.*, 10.
[69] Information obtained from his cousin Muṣṭafā ʿAbd al-Jawwād al-Qāyātī, living in Cairo.

ibn Sharqāwī al-Khalifī,[70] a disciple of Aḥmad al-Khuḍayrī, one of the principal representatives and propagators of al-Khalwatiyya in the town of Ṭahṭā in the first half of the nineteenth century.[71] With the village of Dayr al-Saʿāda near Farshūṭ in the area of Najʿ Ḥammādī as his headquarters,[72] he propagated his *ṭarīqa* in this part of Upper Egypt and built himself a reputation not only as a mystic and *shaykh* of a *ṭarīqa*, but also as a scholar: he maintained close contacts with various Azharī scholars like Muḥammad ʿAbduh,[73] Salīm al-Bishrī, Ḥassūna al-Nawawī, Abū 'l-Faḍl al-Jirjāwī and many others, some of whom he counted among his *murīdūn*.[74] After his death in 1898 his son Aḥmad Abū 'l-Wafā ibn Sharqāwī (1878-1961) took over the *ṭarīqa*'s leadership and the guidance of his father's disciples in the northern half of Qinā province,[75] while the only person besides his aforementioned son who had ever been made a *khalīfa* by him, Yūsuf al-Ḥajjājī al-Uqṣurī (1258-1333: 1842-1914), obtained pre-eminence as *shaykh* of al-Sharqāwī's *ṭarīqa* in the southern part of the province.[76]

The Khalwatiyya branch in the area of Banī Suwayf and al-Fayyūm was led by Jūda ʿAbd al-Mutaʿāl (1212-1322: 1797/8-1904), who lived in the village of Qumbush al-Ḥamrāʾ in the *markaz* of Bibā.[77] This *shaykh*, who had originally belonged to al-Suṭūḥiyya al-Aḥmadiyya, had joined al-Khalwatiyya later in his life as a disciple of a certain Aḥmad al-Junaydī al-Maymūnī.[78] Subsequently he had started to propagate his own *ṭarīqa* which, in the last decades of the nineteenth century, obtained a membership throughout the aforementioned

[70] See chapter III, note 148 for references to biographies.
[71] Al-Ḥajjājī, 23. Aḥmad al-Khuḍayrī had been initiated by a *khalīfa* of Aḥmad al-Dardayr, Aḥmad al-Sukarī. The latter was *katkhudā* of ʿUthmān Bek al-Faqārī al-Kabīr; cf. *ʿAjāʾib*, iii, 326.
[72] *Ibid.*, 31.
[73] Aḥmad b. Sharqāwī was the only *ṭarīqa*-leader who used to visit Muḥammad ʿAbduh and discuss with him matters pertaining to *taṣawwuf*; cf. Riḍā, i, 126, 955.
[74] Al-Ḥajjājī, 36.
[75] For his biography see al-Ḥajjājī, 46ff.
[76] For his biography see al-Ḥajjājī, 63ff. The *ijāza* given to him by his master was published by another disciple of Sharqāwī, Aḥmad al-Ṭāhir al-Ḥāmidī, who considered it particularly valuable as an exposé of the *ṭarīqa*'s teachings (Cairo: Mṭ. al-Saʿāda 1328). For a biography of the latter *shaykh*, see Muḥammad Aḥmad al-Ṭāhir al-Ḥāmidī, *Tarjama li-Ḥayāt al-Ustādh ... al-Shaykh Aḥmad al-Ṭāhir al-Ḥāmidī wa baʿḍ Qaṣāʾidihi*, Cairo 1969.
[77] For references to biographies about him see chapter III, note 107.
[78] Muʿammar, 403. About Aḥmad al-Junaydī no biographical information is available. For his writings see Sarkīs, 718.

areas.[79] When he died in 1904, some of the *ṭarīqa*'s members were reluctant to accept Jūda's son Muḥammad[80] as *shaykh* over them and maintained that Jūda had intended one of the *khulafā'*, Ibrāhīm al-Disūqī al-Maymūnī, to be his successor.[81] The result was a protracted conflict which was still not settled in 1906 when Muḥammad died and his son, Muṣṭafā al-Bakrī (d. 1960)[82] claimed leadership of the *ṭarīqa*. Many of its members, however, thought that he lacked the necessary qualifications for this task.[83] They tried to persuade him to relinquish his ambitions in favour of Ibrāhīm al-Disūqī in order to safeguard the *ṭarīqa* from secession. This, however, Muṣṭafā refused and the outcome was that Ibrāhīm declared himself *shaykh* of an independent Khalwatiyya *ṭarīqa*. It incorporated most of the former disciples of Jūda in the area north of the provincial capital of Banī Suwayf, while, to the south of it, nearer to Qumbush al-Ḥamrā', where Muṣṭafā al-Bakrī resided, the *ṭarīqa*'s members remained loyal to him.

In the Delta a Khalwatiyya branch which had originally been an administrative part of al-Sibā'iyya had started to manifest itself independently under the leadership of Manṣūr Haykal al-Sharqāwī (1259-1345 : 1843-1927)[84] at the end of the nineteenth century. Manṣūr had been a disciple of another representative of al-Khalwatiyya, the Azharī scholar 'Umar Haykal Ja'far al-Shabrāwī (1235-1303 : 1819/20-1886),[85] who in turn was a disciple of Aḥmad al-Damhūjī (d. 1246 :

[79] Mu'ammar, 404.

[80] Mu'ammar, 436f.

[81] Mu'ammar's *Manhal*, which is the official publication of al-Jūdiyya as the *ṭarīqa* is called at present, contains no information whatsoever about the secession of Ibrāhīm al-Disūqī. My initial information about these events was obtained from Maḥmūd Muḥammad al-Mahdī, *wakil mashyakhat 'umūm al-ṭuruq al-ṣūfiyya* and *nā'ib* of al-Junaydiyya in Abū Jandīr (*markaz* Iṭsā, al-Fayyūm) when I attended the *mawlid* of his ancestor, Muḥammad al-Mahdī al-Khaṭīb in Abū Jandīr in October 1969. His account was largely confirmed by Ibrāhīm al-Disūqī's son Ḥusayn (the present-day head of the *ṭarīqa*, now called al-Junaydiyya) whom I chanced to meet in Cairo in 1970, at the time of the *mawlid* of al-Sayyida Zaynab, as well as by several members of this *ṭarīqa*, whom I met during various *mawālid* in Cairo.

[82] According to the oral tradition of al-Junaydiyya, he had only distinguished himself as the principal *munshid* of the *ṭarīqa*, from the days when it had been led by his grandfather.

[83] For biographical data see Mu'ammar, 438f.

[84] For his biography see 'Abd al-Raḥmān Sālim Naṣr al-Dīn, *Fawḥ al-Misk al-Dhaki fī Ta'rikh wa Karāmāt al-Quṭb al-Wali 'Umdat al-Wāṣilīn wa Tāj al-'Ārifīn Sidī al-Shaykh Manṣūr Muḥammad Haykal al-Sharqāwī*, Damanhūr/Alexandria 1930.

[85] For his biography see 'Uthmān, *passim*; and Baybars, *Tarjama*.

1831).[86] When al-Damhūjī died before he had guided his *murīd* to the higher stages of mystical perfection, 'Umar had himself re-initiated into al-Khalwatiyya by Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ al-Sibā'ī of whom, at a later stage, he became a *khalīfa*.[87] After al-Sibā'ī's death in 1268 (1851/2) 'Umar also had himself initiated into two other *ṭarīqa*s, al-Shādhiliyya and al-Naqshbandiyya.[88] Subsequently he obtained a following for himself, first in Cairo, when he was still studying at al-Azhar[89] and later in al-Minūfiyya province. Here he resided for much of his life in the village of Shubrā Zanjī, where he also died. When al-Sibā'iyya became an officially recognized *ṭarīqa* under Rāghib Muḥammad al-Sibā'ī (cf. p. 116), Rāghib, by virtue of the fact that 'Umar had been a *khalīfa* of his grandfather, could claim authority over him and over those belonging to his *ṭarīqa*, which became an administrative part of al-Sibā'iyya. This situation came to an end at the turn of the century, when the lack of ambition for religious leadership of Rāghib's son and successor Muḥammad (d. 1944) generated a decline in *ṭarīqa* membership and consequently lowered the status of its head, causing it to lose its position as an officially recognized *ṭarīqa*.[90] These circumstances must have induced 'Umar's *khalīfa* Manṣūr Haykal al-Sharqāwī, who had become the *ṭarīqa*'s *shaykh* in 1307 (1889/90) in succession to 'Umar's son 'Abd al-Salām,[91] to detach himself entirely from al-Sibā'iyya. He presented his *ṭarīqa* as an independent Khalwatiyya branch with a membership particularly in al-Sharqiyya province, where its *shaykh* lived in the village of Abū Ḥirayz in the *markaz* of Kafr Ṣaqar.[92]

[86] See al-Kattānī, *Fihris*, i, 303f. for biographical information.

[87] 'Uthmān, 13.

[88] He was initiated into al-Naqshbandiyya by Ismā'īl al-Sinnārī (cf. p. 140) and into al-Shādhiliyya by Muḥammad al-Bahī (see p. 110); cf. 'Uthmān, 14.

[89] For biographies of his most notable disciples see 'Uthmān, *Imāṭat*, 79ff.

[90] I have not been able to establish exactly when al-Sibā'iyya lost its status as an officially recognized *ṭarīqa*. It must, however, have been before 1906 since it is not included in the list which figures in *B.S.*, 381 (see below p. 181 f.).

[91] For his biography, see 'Uthmān, 68ff.

[92] In early October 1970, when I visited the village of Abū Ḥirayz, I had the pleasure of meeting the grandson of Manṣūr, Ṣalāḥ Tharwat, the present-day *shaykh* of this branch of al-Khalwatiyya. To him I owe the information that 'Umar Haykal al-Shabrāwī had been a *khalīfa* of al-Sibā'iyya under Rāghib Muḥammad al-Sibā'ī, as well as knowledge of the subsequent developments.

The present-day Shabrāwiyya led by the descendants of 'Umar, ignore his existence as a disciple of al-Sibā'ī and stress Aḥmad al-Damhūjī as his *shaykh*; cf. the *silsila* presented in the biography of 'Abd al-Khāliq al-Shabrāwī appended to 'Abd al-Qādir Aḥmad 'Aṭā' (ed.), *Al-Wazīr Lisān al-Dīn al-Khaṭīb, Rawḍat al-Ta'rīf bi'l-Ḥubb al-Sharīf*, Cairo n.d.

In al-Sharqiyya province, as well as in al-Gharbiyya, a Khalwatiyya order which had its roots in al-Ṣāwiyya had spread during the last decades of the nineteenth century, owing to the proselytizing zeal of Aḥmad al-Shawādifī al-Sharqāwī.[93] This *shaykh* had originally embarked upon a career in the army, which he abandoned after having been initiated by one of Aḥmad al-Ṣāwī's *khulafā'*, 'Alī al-'Uqbārī, an *'ālim* from Alexandria, into al-Ṣāwiyya. As a *khalīfa* of this *ṭarīqa* he carried on his proselytization in the aforementioned areas and gained many disciples.[94] When he died in 1302 (1884/5)[95] his son 'Aṭiyya al-Ṣaghīr, who had already been active as his father's *khalīfa* before the latter's death, became the pre-eminent leader of this section of al-Ṣāwiyya. He presented it as an independent *ṭarīqa* under the name of al-Shawādifiyya, which had its centre in the village of Farsīs (*markaz* Hihyā) where he lived at the end of the nineteenth century, after al-Ṣāwiyya had ceased to exist as an officially recognized *ṭarīqa*.

Al-Tijāniyya[96] did not become established in Egypt until 1260 (1844/5),[97] when a Moroccan, Qāsim al-Sharjī turned a *zāwiya* which had been established by his brother Qudūr a decade earlier,[98] into

[93] For biographical data see al-Maghribī, 155.

[94] Al-Maghribī, 155.

[95] Aḥmad's shrine is in 'Izbat al-Shawādifī near Shannū, *markaz* Kafr al-Shaykh. Information about the further development of al-Shawādifiyya outlined here was obtained from two great-grandsons of Aḥmad, viz. from 'Abd al-Satār Ṣādiq al-Shawādifī, who is the principal *khalīfa* of the *ṭarīqa* in Cairo and leads the *majlis*, which is held in the mosque of al-Ḥusayn every Thursday night after the *maghrib* prayer, and more particularly al-Ḥājj 'Abd al-Dā'im Ibrāhīm, the present-day pretender to the *ṭarīqa*'s leadership, who lives in Bilbays.

[96] Founded by the Algerian Aḥmad al-Tijānī (1150-1230: 1737-1815). The most comprehensive study of this order is Jamil M. Abun-Nasr, *The Tijaniyya. A Sufi Order in the Modern World*, London 1965. See also Trimingham, *Sufi Orders*, 107ff.

[97] For Tijānīs who visited Egypt prior to this date, see Muḥammad al-Ḥāfiẓ, *Rijāl al-Ṭarīqa al-Tijāniyya alladhīna qāmū bi-Nashrihā fī 'l-Quṭr al-Miṣrī*, Cairo 1355, 9ff.

[98] Muḥammad al-Ḥāfiẓ drew my attention to the inaccurate mention of al-Jīlānī al-Zarhūnī as the first head of the *zāwiya* established by al-Sharjī in al-'Aṭṭār, *Ta'rīkh al-Ṭarīqa al-Tijāniyya*, 63. In this al-'Aṭṭār is followed by Abun-Nasr, 157. The first person, however, who is known to have been in charge of this *zāwiya* after the death of Qāsim al-Sharjī was Ḥāmū al-'Aqbāwī al-Tilimsānī (d. 1325: 1907); cf. al-Ḥāfiẓ, *Rijāl*, 24f. and al-'Aṭṭār, 3f. He was succeeded by Muḥammad Bek al-Fakkāk al-Shāwī (d. 1330: 1912); cf. al-Ḥāfiẓ, *Rijāl*, 39f. and al-'Aṭṭār, 19. His successor was al-Bashīr b. Muḥammad al-Zaytūnī (cf. al-Ḥāfiẓ, 28f. and al-'Aṭṭār, 8f. On al-Zaytūnī, see also Muḥammad al-Sayyid al-Tijānī, *Ghāyat al-Amānī fī Manāqib wa Karāmāt Aṣḥāb al-Shaykh Sīdī Aḥmad al-Tijānī*, Cairo n.d., 105f.). He abdicated in favour of al-Jīlānī b. al-Ṭāhir al-Zarhūnī (1270-1360: 1853/4-1941); cf. al-Ḥāfiẓ, 50f. and al-'Aṭṭār, 32. Al-Zarhūnī, in his turn, abdicated in 1350 (1931/2) and was succeeded by 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn al-Sharīf; cf. al-'Aṭṭār, 32. I have not been able to secure any information about the history of this *zāwiya* after this date. Like the *zāwiya* of Surūr Āghā, it must have been administered by the Ministry of Awqāf, following the enactment of a law delegating supervision over all *awqāf khayriyya* to this Ministry in 1953.

a *waqf* in favour of the *ṭarīqa*. This *zāwiya* in al-Jūdariyya,[99] which served primarily as a meeting-place for pilgrims from North and West Africa, remained the principal centre of this *ṭarīqa* in Cairo until 1898, when a second Tijāniyya *zāwiya* was founded in the quarter of al-Mugharbilīn by a eunuch from Bornu, Muḥammad Surūr Āghā,[100] who also established a *waqf* of thirty *faddān* near Damanhūr in its favour.[101] Outside Cairo the *ṭarīqa* had spread in Upper Egypt from the fifties onwards, notably in and around Asyūṭ and Qinā, owing to the proselytization of Tijānī pilgrims from North and West Africa;[102] and in al-Sharqiyya province between Bilbays and Minyā al-Qamḥ in the seventies, as the result of the activities of a Tunisian, al-Bashīr Muḥammad al-Zaytūnī (1225-1323: 1810-1905) who had taken up residence in the village of Tilbāna, where he later died.[103] Another propagandist of al-Tijāniyya, Aḥmad al-Sibā'ī (1260-1352: 1844-1933),[104] a Moroccan who had been resident in Egypt more or less permanently from 1881 onwards, had spread this *ṭarīqa*, particularly in al-Minūfiyya province,[105] where he was living near Ashmūn in the village of al-Kitāmiyya from 1314 (1896/7) onwards.[106]

Tijānī belief in Aḥmad al-Tijānī as the channel of all spiritual emanations from God, which made the Tijānīs' share in these emanations

[99] Abun-Nasr, 157, seems to take this *zāwiya* for the one in Ḥārat Dālī Ḥusayn in al-Mugharbilīn, which, under the leadership of Muḥammad al-Ḥāfiẓ al-Miṣrī, is the principal Tijānī *zāwiya* in the Middle East today. The *shaykh*, however, informed me that he had bought the building in 1937 and converted it into a *waqf* in 1941.

[100] Abun-Nasr, 158; al-'Aṭṭār, 61f.

[101] Copies of the texts of the relevant documents are preserved in the Ministry of Awqāf (*Qalam al-Sijillāt al-Ahliyya*), *sijill* 50, *juz'* 3, (7 Dhū 'l-Ḥijja 1315); and *sijill* 87, *juz'* 4, (21 Ṣafar 1305), *wāqif*: Muḥammad Surūr Āghā al-Asmar *'Atīq* al-Sitt Bābikir Ḥānim). The original *waqfiyya* is dated 18 Dhū 'l-Ḥijja 1315.

Of this *zāwiya* the building in Ḥārat Dālī Ḥusayn opposite the present-day Tijāniyya *zāwiya* of Muḥammad al-Ḥāfiẓ is still intact. It is administered today by the Ministry of Awqāf which rents it out as living accommodation. According to Muḥammad al-Ḥāfiẓ, the last *shaykh* in charge of it was a West African from Futa Jalon (Guinea), known as al-Ḥājj Jibrīl al-Fūtī.

[102] For the biographies of some of these see al-Ḥāfiẓ, *ibid.*, 11f., 17f., 49f.; al-'Attār, 18; and al-Tijānī, 101f.

[103] For his biography see al-Ḥāfiẓ, 28ff.; al-'Aṭṭār, 8ff.; al-Tijānī, 105ff.

[104] For his biography see al-Ḥāfiẓ, 45ff.; al-'Aṭṭār, 29ff.

[105] For an enumeration of his most prominent disciples see al-Ḥāfiẓ, 48ff.

[106] Al-Ḥāfiẓ, 47.

infinitely greater than that of anybody not belonging to this *ṭarīqa*,[107] implied the conviction of the superiority of the founder of this *ṭarīqa* and of those belonging to it, over the founders of other *ṭuruq* and their members.[108] This exclusiveness was reinforced by the prohibition of the *ṭarīqa*'s members from visiting shrines of non-Tijānī saints, which also precluded participation in *mawālid* held in their honour.[109]

Consequently, Tijānīs must have had no desire to participate in any of the celebrations organized and/or sponsored by al-Bakrī. Nor would any of the aforementioned *khulafā'* of the *ṭarīqa* have solicited for his confirmation as its supreme head in Egypt, since this would have been an implicit negation of their own self-conception of being superior to all non-Tijānīs by virtue of belonging to a *ṭarīqa* which they held to supersede all others.

An attitude similar to that of al-Tijāniyya was held by those belonging to al-Sanūsiyya,[110] which had spread into Egypt since the middle of the nineteenth century. Its adherents, however, legitimated their claims for superiority differently, by indicating that all other *ṭuruq* had been incorporated into it by its founder Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Sanūsī (1202-1276 : 1787-1859), and had therefore become superfluous.[111] This founder had himself established the *ṭarīqa*'s first *zāwiya* on Egyptian soil in Alexandria upon his return from Mecca in 1840[112] and in the early fifties a *zāwiya* had been built for him by the khedive 'Abbās I in Būlāq.[113] The Alexandrian *zāwiya*, however, ceased

[107] Abun-Nasr, 32.

[108] *Ibid.*, 38.

[109] This prohibition does not apply to other prophets, nor to the *aṣḥāb* and the *ahl al-bayt*. For a summary of Tijānī doctrine on this matter see Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. Ḥusayn al-Ṭaṣfāwī, *Al-Fatḥ al-Rabbānī fīmā yaḥtāju ilayhi al-Murīd al-Tijānī*, Cairo 1958, 32ff.; and equally Muḥammad al-Ḥāfīẓ, *Qaṣd al-Sabīl fī 'l-Ṭarīqa al-Tijāniyya*, al-Zaqāzīq 1348, 10f.

[110] On al-Sanūsiyya and its founder Muḥammad 'Alī al-Sanūsī (1787-1859) see e.g. B. G. Martin, *Muslim Brotherhoods in Nineteenth-century Africa*, Cambridge 1976, chapter 4.

[111] Cf. Aḥmad al-Sharīf al-Sanūsī, *Al-Anwār al-Qudsiyya fī Muqadimmat al-Ṭarīqa al-Sanūsiyya*, Istanbul 1342; 10, 29. For a refutation of the claims of al-Sanūsiyya as presented in this booklet, by a representative of al-Khalwatiyya, see Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Kāfī, *Risālat al-Furū' al-Kāfiyya li-Izālat Ghayāhib al-Anwār al-Qudsiyya fī Muqaddimat al-Ṭarīqa al-Sanūsiyya*, Tunis 1927.

[112] Cf. H. Duveyrier, *La Confrérie Musulmane de Sidi Mohammed Ben 'Alī Es-Senoûsî et son Domaine Géographique en l'Année 1300 de l'Hégire — 1883 de notre Ère*, Roma 1918, 53.

[113] *Ibid.*, 54.

to exist before 1876,[114] while no Sanūsīs ever occupied that in Būlāq.[115] The existence of the *zawāyā* which were established in the oases in the Western Desert from the middle of the nineteenth century onwards was more permanent.[116] Over a dozen existed in the eighties[117] and at the beginning of the twentieth century their number had increased to thirty-one.[118] Among these were two *zāwiya*s which had been established at the edge of the desert, one in Ḥūsh 'Īsā near Damanhūr and another near al-Jīza in the village of Kirdāsa.[119] Apart from these two *zāwiya*s no others were established either in the Delta or in the Nile valley to the south. This geographical distribution of the *ṭarīqa*'s membership, mainly confined to the Western Desert, and the way the *ṭarīqa* was regarded by its founder and members[120] as indicated above, explain why it had remained entirely marginal to the realm of al-Bakrī's authority.

[114] *Ibid.*, 53.

[115] Le Chatelier, *Confréries*, 281. This building is at present known as the mosque of Sīdī al-Qulālī in al-Sabtiyya.

[116] Cf. Ahmed Fakhry, *The Oases of Egypt. Vol. II: Bahriyah and Farafra Oases*, Cairo 1974, 168.

[117] For an enumeration see Duveyrier, 51ff.

[118] For an enumeration see S. Arslān/L. Stoddard, *Ḥāḍir al-'Ālam al-Islāmī*, iv vols. Cairo 1352; ii, 444ff. For a discussion of the spread of the *ṭarīqa* and comparisons between the number of *zawāyā* mentioned by various authors, see N. A. Ziadeh, *Sanūsiyah. A Study of a Revivalist Movement in Islam*, Leiden 1968, chapter iv.

[119] O. Depont & X. Coppolani, *Les Confréries religieuses Musulmanes*, Alger 1897, 571; Le Chatelier, *Confréries*, 282.

[120] Both Ziadeh, 87; and Trimingham, *Sufi Orders*, 116, state that al-Sanūsiyya aim at union with the Prophet and not with God. I am not aware of the existence of any Sanūsī treatise in which the conception of *al-nūr al-muḥammadī* is dealt with. However, the *awrād* of al-Sanūsiyya (cf. al-Sanūsī, *Al-Anwār*, 60f. and Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Sanūsī, *Majmū' Aḥzāb wa Awrād Ṭarīqat al-Sāda al-Sanūsiyya*, Cairo 1969, 46) furnish sufficient evidence that Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Sanūsī followed his teacher Aḥmad b. Idrīs in this respect and that, like the latter's disciple Muḥammad 'Uthmān al-Mīrghanī, al-Sanūsī had accepted the implications ensuing from the belief in the well-known uncanonical *ḥadīth* transmitted by Jābir b. 'Abd Allāh, supporting the neo-Platonic conception of pre-creation. (For an extensive discussion of this *ḥadīth* as well as other *aḥādīth* pertinent to the conception of *al-nūr al-muḥammadī* see Aḥmad b. Aḥmad b. Ismā'īl al-Ḥalwānī, *Mawākib Rabī' fī Mawlid al-Shafī'*, Cairo 1294. It may be found in almost any prayer-manual of al-Idrīsiyya; see e.g. Aḥmad b. Idrīs, *Majmū'at Aḥzāb wa Awrād wa Rasā'il*, Cairo 1940, 198ff. The status of this *ḥadīth* was discussed by Muḥammad Rashīd Riḍā in *Al-Manār*, vol. 8 (1905), 865-69, where he refuted it as non-authentic). So in the passage in al-Sanūsī's *Wird al-Kabīr* "... and unite (between) me and him as you united spirit (*rūḥ*) and soul (*nafs*) in outward appearance and in reality (*ẓāhir*^{an} wa *bāṭin*^{an}) awake and asleep and make Him, O Lord, the Spirit of my essence in all respects, in this world before the hereafter, O Almighty" (Cf. al-Sanūsī, *Majmū' Aḥzāb*, 46f.), the desired union with the Prophet must be conceived of as a union in which the Prophet is a manifestation of the divine essence, of *al-nūr*

In a category by itself stood al-ʿAzāziyya, since it was the only *ṭarīqa* which obtained official recognition and lost it all within a few years, at the beginning of the twentieth century. Originally it had been a family group in al-Sharqiyya province, which traced itself back to Sīdī ʿAzāz b. Mustawdaʿ al-Baṭāʾiḥī.[121] Members of this group had traditionally been adherents of al-Rifāʿiyya.[122] Moreover, they had another link with this *ṭarīqa* since Sīdī ʿAzāz had taken the *ʿahd* from Muḥammad al-Shunbakī,[123] who had also initiated Aḥmad al-Rifāʿī's uncle and teacher Manṣūr al-Bāz al-Baṭāʾiḥī[124] into the mystical Way. On both these grounds the heads of al-Rifāʿiyya claimed jurisdiction over this group which had been functioning as a *bayt* of this *ṭarīqa* since the era of ʿAlī al-Bakrī at least. In the eighties, however, the then *shaykh* of the *bayt al-ʿAzāziyya*, Ibrāhīm Khalīl al-ʿAzāzī, had himself initiated into al-Khalwatiyya by ʿUmar al-Shabrāwī (see above p. 146) and started to present al-ʿAzāziyya as a Khalwatiyya *ṭarīqa* and himself as its *shaykh*.[125] Muḥammad Tawfīq al-Bakrī granted him official recognition in October 1901 without consulting the members of the Ṣūfī Council[126] or involving them in any way. Muḥammad Tawfīq was entitled to do this in view of the absence of any stipulations relative to recognition of new *ṭuruq* in the Regulations. For the head of al-Rifāʿiyya this formal sanction of a secessionist movement within the *ṭarīqa* proved unacceptable. However, it was not until two years later that he presented a formal protest to the Ṣūfī Council.[127] The reason for this delayed reaction would seem to have been his lack of any concrete evidence of the changed status of al-ʿAzāziyya, which had been effected by nothing more than a decree (*taqrīr*) drawn up for this purpose by Muḥammad Tawfīq and issued by him to Ibrāhīm

al-muḥammadī, which is the substance of substances and the basis of all existence (*aṣl al-wujūd*). Therefore, it is a union with the Divine itself, through the Divine as manifested in and made accessible through the Prophet.

The incorporation of the conception of *al-nūr al-muḥammadī* in Sanūsī teaching also appears in another section of the *Wird al-Kabīr*, which runs: "O, God, I ask You by the light of the face of God the Almighty, which fills the pillars of the throne of God the Almighty, and by [the grace of which] the world of God the Almighty exists".

[121] On this saint see al-Shaʿrānī, *Ṭabaqāt*, i, 133. He was a descendant of Fāṭima al-Zahrāʾ.

[122] Cf. MS Leiden Or. 14438 (ʿAzāzī documents) 4 (19 Raj. 1322).

[123] Cf. al-Shaʿrānī, *ibid.*

[124] *Ibid.*, 134.

[125] Cf. MS Leiden Or. 14438 (ʿAzāzī docs.) 7.

[126] For the original decree issued by Muḥammad Tawfīq al-Bakrī to al-ʿAzāzī see MS Leiden Or. 14438 (ʿAzāzī docs.) 1 (17 Rab. II 1319).

[127] Cf. *idem*, 3 (3 Jum. I 1322).

al-ʿAzāzī personally.[128] In August 1903, however, following the proclamation of the new Regulations, a circular was sent to all the heads of the *ṭuruq* inviting them to attend the elections of the new Ṣūfī Council together with a list of all those who were entitled to vote.[129] This document, in which explicit mention was made of Ibrāhīm al-ʿAzāzī as *shaykh* of al-ʿAzāziyya as an independent *ṭarīqa*, made it possible for Muḥammad Ḥusayn Yāsīn, the *shaykh* of al-Rifāʿiyya, to launch a formal complaint to the newly elected Ṣūfī Council.[130] After prolonged deliberations the members of this body unanimously agreed that Ibrāhīm's appointment had not been in accordance with the Regulations, since recognition of a new *ṭarīqa* and its *shaykh* was to be considered as identical to appointment of a *shaykh* to a *ṭarīqa*.[131] This had ceased to be a prerogative of al-Bakrī alone after the proclamation of the Regulations of 1895, and had become a matter pertaining to the competence of the whole Council. Therefore the *taqrīr* which had been issued to Ibrāhīm by Muḥammad Tawfīq al-Bakrī without consultation with the Council, was declared invalid.[132] At the same time Ibrāhīm was recommended to submit to the Council a new request for recognition as head of an independent *ṭarīqa*.[133] He followed this recommendation,[134] but had the sessions of the Council arranged for the discussion of his request indefinitely postponed,[135] presumably because he did not think he had much chance of obtaining a decree in his favour.[136]

[128] Ibrāhīm al-ʿAzāzī may well have anticipated Muḥammad Yāsīn's action. In August 1903 he requested al-Bakrī to provide him with a new *taqrīr* in which al-ʿAzāziyya was to be mentioned explicitly as a Khalwatiyya branch. This request, which was complied with by al-Bakrī, can hardly have been aimed at anything other than obtaining the most unequivocal official statement possible about the distinctiveness and independence of al-ʿAzāziyya from al-Rifāʿiyya, in view of the emerging dispute; cf. *idem*, 2 (17 August 1903).

[129] *Idem*, 3 (3 Jum. I 1322).

[130] *Ibid.* The Council's members were Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Ghanī (al-Bayyūmiyya), Muḥammad Muḥammad Masʿūd al-Qādirī (al-Qādiriyya al-Fāriḍiyya), ʿAbd al-Majīd al-Barmūnī (al-Qāsimiyya al-Shādhiliyya), and Muḥammad Nuwaytū (al-Imbābiyya/al-Kannāsiyya).

[131] Cf. *idem*, 7[a] (23 Shaʿbān 1322).

[132] *Ibid.*

[133] *Ibid.*

[134] *Idem*, 9 (25 Shawwāl 1322).

[135] *Idem*, 10 (2 Ḥijja 1322) and 11 (6 Ḥijja 1322).

[136] The matter was taken up again after Ibrāhīm's death in 1913 by his son Muḥammad; see *idem*, 12 (17 August 1913).

e. *The Internal Regulations of 1905*

The amendments of procedure pertaining to the composition of the Council incorporated in the Regulations of 1903 may have given al-Bakrī the opportunity of manipulating its members more than was possible under the earlier arrangement of 1895. The outcome of the 'Azaziyya case, however, set out in the preceding section, shows that these amendments did not allow him to prevent the Ṣūfī Council from enacting the right which had been invested in this Council at the expense of al-Bakrī by the Regulations of 1895: to grant legality to the head of a *ṭarīqa*. Moreover, neither set of Regulations contained any specific provisions aimed at the effective administration of the ordered system of super- and sub-ordination that they had shaped. Rights and obligations of the *mashāyikh al-ṭuruq* were not clearly defined, nor were the criteria for succession to the various offices. The procedures to be followed in the settlement of conflicts between groups and individuals had hardly been formalized and one of the basic requirements for the efficiency of the rudimentary bureaucratic system which they had created — the keeping of written records — had not been made obligatory.

In order to amend these deficiencies Muḥammad Tawfīq drew up a set of supplementary rules, the Internal Regulations for the *Ṭuruq* (*al-lā'iḥa al-dākhiliyya li'l-ṭuruq al-ṣūfiyya*).[137] The first section of these Regulations contained provisions for more regular meetings of the Ṣūfī Council (art. 1) and gave an elaborate codification of the accompanying administrative routine and of judicial procedure by the Council. These pertained in particular to the procedure it had to follow when dealing with disputes brought before it (arts. 2-8) and excluded the possibility of appeal (art. 9). Significantly, it was stipulated (art. 2, first clause, and art. 5) that in case of conflict the parties involved had to present all the relevant documents to the *mashyakha*, i.e. to al-Bakrī, while the minutes of the sessions of the Ṣūfī Council held in connection with any case, were to remain in his custody (cf. art. 3). These clauses implied that Muḥammad Tawfīq's rôle in the Ṣūfī Council would be more prominent than that reserved for him by the earlier Regulations. Moreover, since these arrangements would put him in a crucially important position in the Council's

[137] Both *lā'iḥa*s were published together in 1905 (Cairo: Mṭ. al-Mu'ayyad) and again in 1342: 1923/4. They appear as an appendix to Shuhdī, *Aḥmad al-Ṣāwī*. For an annotated translation see appendix VI.

functioning as a judicial body, he would be able to exercise control in its administration of justice. In addition, in a clause in the second section (art. 7, last clause) he gave himself, as incumbent of the office of *shaykh mashāyikh al-ṭuruq al-ṣūfiyya*, a more important rôle to play in the appointment of successors to deceased heads of officially recognized *ṭuruq*. This clause stipulated that when a *shaykh* died all the records pertaining to the administration of his *ṭarīqa* had to be handed over to the "*bāb al-mashyakha*". After the appointment of a new *shaykh* they would be returned to him.

Incumbency to the office of *shaykh al-ṭarīqa* was also regulated by articles in the second section (arts. 1, 2, 3, 4, 6) which imposed, moreover, a number of obligations upon the *mashāyikh al-ṭuruq* and placed them under certain prohibitions (arts. 8, 9, 10, 12, 13).

Among these articles, the principle of hereditary succession to the office of *shaykh al-ṭarīqa*, as had become sanctioned by tradition in most *ṭuruq* was formulated explicitly in article 6. At the same time article 6 contained a guarantee against incumbency by unworthy heirs in a clause essentially of the same purport as article 1 of the section, which stipulated that nobody should be appointed *shaykh* of a *ṭarīqa* unless he had a certain level of knowledge (*'irfān*) and ethical perfection (*kamāl*); the clause delegated to the Council the appointment of anybody it considered competent for *ṭarīqa* leadership if heirs had insufficient education, or were otherwise unsuitable for the office.

A partial re-formulation of article 1 of the Regulations of 1903 was included in the fourth article which restated, in addition, that no head of a *ṭarīqa* of whatever nature, could claim to have been appointed and hence been recognized as *shaykh* of an independent and distinct *ṭarīqa* unless appointment was by the Council. By this provision the Council intended to obtain maximum control over all organized groups of mystics in Egypt. It aimed particularly at making the legality of the heads of al-Wafā'iyya and al-'Ināniyya as well as of the *mashāyikh* of the Khalwatiyya branches, who considered themselves to be heads of independent *ṭuruq*, dependent upon appointment by the Council. By the third article, formal recognition of two *shaykh*s over the same *ṭarīqa* was made impossible. Such a form of shared leadership had existed in the past for al-Qādiriyya, al-Ṣāwiyya and al-Shinnāwiyya.[138] It had always led to rivalry, conflict and secession, which this article was obviously designed to prevent.

[138] Shared leadership had existed for al-Qādiriyya in the first half of the 19th

Latent dispute and secession were also quelled by article 11. The article itself merely prohibited the use of the term *shaykh al-ṭarīqa* as an honorific or term of address for the *nuwwāb* of the *ṭarīqa*, since the use of this term did not reflect the subordination of the *nā'ib* to the head of the *ṭarīqa*. By this prohibition, however, one of the factors had been eliminated which could have contributed to the emergence of local centres of authority, out of reach of control of the *shaykh al-ṭarīqa*, with the potential of developing into secessionist *ṭuruq*.

Among the officially recognized *ṭuruq* many did not originate in Egypt but had been introduced there from other parts of the Islamic world. These *ṭuruq* had continued to have active *khulafā'* in Egypt, who were either Egyptian nationals or expatriates and did not consider themselves to be subject to the authority of any of the heads of the officially recognized *ṭuruq* in Egypt, and who had occasionally proselytized on their own account.[139] For them, however, article 5 had now made it virtually impossible to obtain official recognition, however successful they might have been as leaders; the article excluded recognition of a new *ṭarīqa* when it resembled any of those already recognized, either in name or in method.[140] It thus eliminated the possibility that the emergence of any new identical *ṭarīqa* could ever produce a struggle for supreme leadership, as had taken place over the leadership of al-'Arūsiyya in the early nineties. It also precluded

century (see above page 38). Al-Ṣāwiyya had two *shaykh*s in the era of Alī al-Bakrī (see above page 74). Al-Shinnāwiyya had an officially recognized *shaykh* for Cairo and one who was the *ṭarīqa*'s recognized head in al-Minūfiyya province (see above page 72). Exactly when and how the dual leadership of al-Shinnāwiyya came to an end is not known. In the documents of the Leiden collection, however, the latest reference to the head of al-Shinnāwiyya in al-Minūfiyya province, 'Umar al-Shinnāwī, dates from 1287 (cf. F.Or.A. 283, I-28/8 (27 Rab. II 1287). According to oral tradition of the *ṭarīqa* 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Shinnāwī was the head of all *sāda* Shinnāwiyya for an unspecified period before 1904 when he died. Therefore, it would seem likely that dual leadership of this *ṭarīqa* had ceased to exist by the end of the 19th century. 'Abd al-Raḥmān was succeeded by his son Muḥammad Yūsuf (d. 1928).

[139] A case in point is Aḥmad b. al-Ḥājj al-Ribāṭī, a *khalīfa* of al-Fatḥiyya, a branch of al-Darqāwiyya. He edited Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad al-Bannānī's *Madārij al-Sulūk ilā Mālik al-Mulūk*, Cairo 1330, with Fatḥ Allāh b. Abī Bakr al-Bannānī, *'Iqd al-Durr wa 'l-La'āl fī Bayān Faḍl al-Fuqr wa 'l-Fuqarā' wa Faḍīlat al-Su'āl* in the margin. Fatḥ Allāh was al-Ribāṭī's *shaykh* and the *ṭarīqa*'s founder. For the biography of Abū Bakr see al-Kūhin, 169ff.; for the biography of his son Fatḥ Allāh, see *ibid.*, 174ff. Although there was a difference in name, the *ṭarīqa* resembled the officially recognized Madaniyya in many respects (cf. al-Bannānī's *Madārij* and Muḥammad Ẓāfir al-Madanī's *Al-Anwār al-Qudsiyya*).

[140] In the Regulations the term *muṣṭalaḥāt* is used. The mystical terminology, which is part and parcel of the *ṭarīqa*'s method is, of course, implied.

the emergence of disputes between officially recognized *ṭuruq* originating in claims of suzerainty by one *shaykh* over another on the basis of identical names or identical methods, since it had *a priori* eliminated the possibility of any identity in this respect.

Appointment of one *shaykh* over two *ṭarīqa*s was excluded by article 2. This had been the case with two branches of al-Qādiriyya which had been under the leadership of one single *shaykh* from 1870 until 1892. It had also been the case with two branches of al-Aḥmadiyya, viz. al-Imbābiyya and al-Kannāsiyya, which had been under the leadership of 'Alī Nuwaytū for about ten years up to 1904. He was a brother of Muḥammad Nuwaytū, the *shaykh* of the shrine of Ismā'īl al-Imbābī (see above p. 88), and had been appointed *shaykh* of al-Imbābiyya by 'Abd al-Bāqī al-Bakrī in 1308 (1890),[141] when the *ṭarīqa*'s *shaykh* Ibrāhīm 'Alī Salmān had died leaving only an infant son. 'Alī Nuwaytū must have owed his appointment partly to the fact that he belonged to the family which had controlled the shrine of the founder of al-Imbābiyya from the end of the eighteenth century onwards (see above p. 16), since this made him a candidate who was assured of a minimum of the legitimacy required. The factors are obscure, however, which account for his additional appointment as *shaykh* of al-Kannāsiyya, following the death of the *shaykh* of this *ṭarīqa*, Muṣṭafā Ḥamūda, an uncle of Ḥamūda Muḥammad, the head of al-Sa'diyya.[142] The office of *shaykh al-Kannāsiyya* remained with the Nuwaytū family from then onwards, and when 'Alī Nuwaytū died in 1904, his brother Muḥammad Maḥmūd succeeded him as *shaykh* of this *ṭarīqa*.[143] Muḥammad also held the office of *shaykh al-Imbābiyya*, but not for long: the legality of his succession was disputed by Ibrāhīm 'Alī Salmān's son Muḥammad, who had by then reached adulthood. Muḥammad's claims were recognized in 1905 when, after the Internal Regulations had been accepted by the Ṣūfī Council, Muḥammad Maḥmūd was forced to resign as *shaykh al-Imbābiyya* and Muḥammad Ibrāhīm installed in his place.[144]

[141] He was also *wakīl al-mashyakha*; cf. F.Or.A. 384, II-67/2 (23 Ṣaf. 1311).

[142] I owe my information about this family relationship to Ḥamūda al-Khuḍarī, *shaykh al-sajjāda al-Sa'diyya* from 1943 until 1972, when he died. He could not give the exact date of the death of Muṣṭafā Ḥamūda.

[143] Since 'Alī al-Nuwaytū had not been initiated into al-Kannāsiyya nor, as far as I could establish, into any other *ṭarīqa*, no *silsila* is given in the *ijāzāt* issued by the *shaykh al-sajjāda al-Kannāsiyya* in present-day Egypt, Salāma Nuwaytū. Salāma Nuwaytū claims descent from Muḥammad al-Kannāsī, a disciple of Aḥmad al-Badawī, after whom the *ṭarīqa* is named; it is to him that I owe much of my information about al-Kannāsiyya.

[144] I owe my information about these events to 'Abd al-Salām Ibrāhīm, the *shaykh*

The remaining articles of the second section contained a number of precepts for the heads of the *ṭuruq*. They were obliged to keep records of their administration in a specified form (art. 7) and to appoint *khulafā'* in the various townships as well as *nuwwāb* in every *markaz* in which the *ṭarīqa* had a substantial membership (art. 9). The article and article 10, which made personal inspection of the *khulafā'* incumbent upon the *shaykh al-ṭarīqa* at least once a year, were clearly included in order to prevent the *ṭarīqa* from becoming redundant as a result of inactive or ineffective incumbents to the leadership positions.

As a further guarantee for the effectiveness of leadership at the local level, it was now forbidden to appoint *khulafā'* who did not have a certain level of education (art. 8) and were unworthy in a more general way for the office of *khalīfa* (art. 12 first section).

Regarding the content of *ijāzāt* issued by the heads of the *ṭuruq* to disciples, and by virtue of which the latter became *khulafā'*, provisions were laid down in article 12. *Ijāzāt* were to contain an explicit statement of the nature of the permission and of the rules according to which a recipient had to give guidance. Article 12 also stipulated that *ijāzāt* had to be printed henceforth, instead of being hand-written as had commonly been the case until then. This requirement must have been intended to make it harder to tamper with the *silsila* and the names and the dates mentioned in it, as was sometimes done when such alterations could give more substance to a person's claims to autonomy and competence of jurisdiction.[145]

al-sajjāda al-Imbābiyya in Egypt, who is resident in the village of Warrāq al-'Arab (al-Jīza). His information was largely corroborated by Salāma Nuwaytū's version of the events under discussion as well as by an account from the secretary of the *mashyakhat al-ṭuruq al-ṣūfiyya*, 'Abd al-Laṭīf 'Abd al-Ḥamīd. In the *silsila* given in the *ijāzat* issued by the *ṭarīqa*, Muḥammad's father, Ibrāhīm 'Alī, figures as being initiated by his uncle Ḥasan Salmān (d. 1290 : 1875 approx.), who was head of the *ṭarīqa al-Imbābiyya* in the era of 'Alī al-Bakrī (see page 69).

[145] Falsification of a *silsila*, for instance, in such a way that it would constitute a more direct link with the founder of a particular *ṭarīqa* than the *silsila* of its officially recognized head, could be of importance when claims for autonomy were at stake. Names might also be changed by a *khalīfa* who wanted to cover up the fact that he belonged to a particular *bayt*, thus placing himself outside the jurisdiction of the *shaykh al-bayt*. Also the date of issue was sometimes tampered with, as when a *khalīfa* who carried *ijāzāt* of more than one *ṭarīqa* wanted to be considered as belonging to the *ṭarīqa* he had taken last: in such a case the *ijāza* of the last *ṭarīqa* had to antedate the others in his possession, since it was practice sanctioned by tradition to regard the *ṭarīqa* which somebody had taken first as the *ṭarīqa* to which he belonged; cf. F.Or.A. 283, II-13/4 (4 Rab. II 1289) and V-8(10)/7(6 Raj. 1296). See also chapter II, note 46. For an *ijāza*, which has evidently been tampered with see MS

A final clause aimed at the elimination of trade in blank *ijāzāt*. In earlier periods trade in *ijāzāt* had been rampant.[146] In this particular form, however, it must have spread mainly after 1881 when 'Abd al-Bāqī al-Bakrī, in the circular drawn up by him (art. 18), prohibited anyone who was not a *khalīfa* from conducting a *ḥaḍra*. The prohibition must have been intended to guarantee the presence of clearly identifiable officials who could be held responsible for the application of everything contained in the circular. At the same time, however, it did not merely make the presence of a *khalīfa* obligatory at the regular *ḥaḍarāt* held by the local members of a particular *ṭarīqa*, or at the *ḥaḍarāt* in which the participants were of a less restricted provenance, during *mawālid* and other periodical festivals, but also during the so-called *layālī*. These are festive evenings in which the most important and central event is a *ḥaḍra*, staged by a number of *ṭarīqa* members, possibly under the supervision of a *khalīfa*, together with *munshidūn* and musicians, and in which all those attending the *layla* can participate.[147] For this purpose, the person who wishes to hold a *layla* invites such a group, who are paid for this form of entertainment in money and/or in kind.[148] When, however, after 1881, the presence of a *khalīfa* became obligatory on such occasions, a demand for *ijāzāt* was created among those who were making a living in one way or another by participating in the celebrations of *layālī*, since possession of an *ijāza* was now a necessity if they were to continue to derive income from this source. This document, however, had to be paid for in money or in kind by the recipient to the *khalīfa* who provided it, and the *khalīfa* similarly had to pay the head of the *ṭarīqa* who supplied blank *ijāzāt*. The prohibition of this practice therefore ran counter to the financial interests of many heads of the *ṭuruq* and their *khulafā'*.[149]

Leiden Or. 14431/V. This *ijāza*, dated 1232 (1816/7), is autographed by Aḥmad al-Ṣāwī (1175-1241 : 1761-1825).

[146] Cf. page 46. See also Le Chatelier, *Confréries*, 174f.

[147] Cf. MS Leiden Or. 1443/VI n.d. (approx. 1900), being a transcript of a letter with various questions about this and other practices of the *ṭuruq* considered to be *bida'*, addressed to the son of the well-known Mālikī *muftī* Muḥammad 'Illaysh, 'Abd al-Raḥmān 'Illaysh, together with the transcript of his answer.

[148] Cf. P. Kahle, 'Zur Organisation', 158. The *layla* itself, however, is not, as it might be understood from Kahle, organized by a *khalīfa*. In present-day Egypt — and it is not likely to have been any different at the beginning of the 20th century — the person organizing the *layla* (as a pious deed, as a *nadhr* or at the occasion of e.g. a circumcision) also distributes food and serves coffee and/or tea to those present. He pays for the illumination and provides mats on which the *ḥaḍra* is to be performed.

[149] It is mentioned by Kahle that a *khalīfa* at that period received about two pounds for an *ijāza*, while the head of the *ṭarīqa* received about four pounds for

Moreover, since the institution of the *layla* remained, and since, during a *ḥaḍra*, the presence of a *ḵẖalīfa* who had been given an *ijāza* by his *shaykh* had been made a requirement in the present Regulations also (section 5, art. 3), there continued to be a demand for *ijāzāt* by those who took a professional and economic interest in the possession of such a document. These factors combined would seem to account for the fact that this clause remained a dead letter[150] and that the practice it aimed at eliminating continues to be found well into the post-revolutionary era.

A potential detrimental effect upon the income of the heads of the *ṭuruq* and their *ḵẖulafā'*, was also latent in article 13. It contained a clause which, in accordance with article 12 of the Regulations of 1903, prohibited them from accepting donations related to a case (dispute) under consideration, or to the appointment of a *ḵẖalīfa*. In addition, however, it declared that the customary payments in money or in kind, which used to be made by the *murīdūn* and the *ḵẖulafā'* to the head of their *ṭarīqa*, could not be imposed as an obligation. Such donations used to be made on the occasion of the *mawlid al-nabī*, the *mawlid* of the founder of the *ṭarīqa* and on the occasion of the *'īd al-fiṭr* at the end of *Ramaḍān*.[151] They constituted a substantial part of the income of the heads of the *ṭuruq*[152] which had been put in jeopardy by this article, to some extent at least, since it ruled out the use of any sort of formal sanction against *ṭarīqa* members who, for one reason or another, were not willing to make these customary donations.

The third section provided for a reorganization and expansion of the network of agents of the *mashyaḵẖa* to whom, as to the heads of the *ṭuruq* and their *ḵẖulafā'*, the keeping of records of their administration had been made obligatory in a specified form (art. 5). Such officials were to be appointed in every *markaz* instead of only in a few urban

providing his seal and signature, without which the *ijāza* had no validity; cf. Kahle, *ibid.* 157.

[150] This statement is based upon oral information from a wide number of informants. At the end of the 1960's and the beginning of the 1970's I found that a number of distinct *ṭuruq* were generally known for this practice. Therefore, I feel that although this practice may have declined for a while after the acceptance of the Internal Regulations by the Ṣūfī Council, it must have continued until the 1970's.

[151] Kahle, *ibid.*, 160. See also Maḥmūd Abū Rayya, *Ḥayāt al-Qurā*, Cairo 1966, chapter 4, *passim*. This booklet contains a collection of articles by the author, which were originally published in various Egyptian periodicals in the 1930's.

[152] For similar practice in the Maghrib, cf. Depont & Coppolani, 240f.

centres in the provinces, as had been the practice previously. They had to be of the meritorious (*afāḍil*) and the esteemed (*mu'tabarūn*) and they had to be members of a *ṭarīqa*. The *nuwwāb* of the various *ṭuruq* were excluded from appointments as *wakīl* (art. 2). The aim of this restriction must have been to prevent a single individual from being invested with so much authority that he might create for himself a highly autonomous power position over which al-Bakrī and the Ṣūfī Council would not be able to exercise control and which could allow him to defy their directives and possibly create a secessionist *ṭarīqa*.

Another factor which might contribute to the emergence of local centres of authority embodying this danger, was the use of the term *shaykh mashāyikh al-ṭuruq* as an honorific for the *wakīl al-mashyaḵẖa*, which was eliminated by a prohibition contained in article 1. Most significantly, however, the right of appointment and dismissal of these agents which acted as a sanction against the abuse of office (cf. art. 7), was to lie with the incumbent of the office of *shaykh mashāyikh al-ṭuruq al-ṣūfiyya*, i.e. with al-Bakrī, without involving the Ṣūfī Council (cf. art. 1). Moreover, *wukalā'* were obliged to keep al-Bakrī personally informed about events pertaining to "*al-ṣūfiyya*" occurring in the provinces (arts. 3 and 6) and had to communicate with him directly (cf. art. 1). In other words the article prohibited the use of intermediaries which might otherwise have become an institutionalized practice, a virtual line of command, and would be conducive to an undesired increase in autonomy of the *wukalā'*, since indirect communication would imply indirect control by al-Bakrī.

In the past the *wukalā'* had acted first and foremost in the rôle of al-Bakrī's liaison officers in the provinces. The right of jurisdiction in cases pertaining to "*al-ṣūfiyya*" had been held by al-Bakrī exclusively, while in cases of violation of rights of *qadam* it could also be exercised by the local *qāḍī*. In the Internal Regulations, however, article 4 of the section dealing with the *wukalā'* contained a statement pertaining to the "judgements" of the latter. This was an implicit reference to, and a formalization of, the fact that their function did not merely comprise the right of temporarily suspending parties involved in a conflict, as explicitly formulated in the last clause of article 3, but included the right of jurisdiction as well. Exactly when this right entered the competency of a *wakīl* is not known. The circular of 1881 did not contain any reference to jurisdiction by the *wukalā'*, nor did the Regulations of 1895. The amended Regulations of 1903, however, did

contain such a reference in a clause in article 13, which delegated to the *wukalā'* the resolution of conflict occurring in the provinces and implicitly invested them with the right of investigation and mediation. Jurisdiction must also have been part of their competency, however, as appears from a subsequent clause which gives the opposing parties in a conflict handled by the *wukalā'* of the *mashyakha* the right of appeal to the Ṣūfī Council. Therefore, at least a limited right of jurisdiction must have been delegated by Muḥammad Tawfīq to the *wukalā'* at some time between 1895 and 1903, presumably as part of a more general re-shuffle among their ranks following Muḥammad Tawfīq's abdication as *naqīb al-ashrāf* in January 1895.[153] In consequence of this event he ceased to have control over the provincial *nuqabā'*, who lost their significance for the *ṭuruq* administration when they could no longer be employed to exercise authority over the *ṭuruq*. In order to compensate for this set-back Muḥammad Tawfīq must have appointed *wukalā'* in areas in which the provincial *nuqabā'* used to function in this capacity. Moreover, the greater administrative efficiency at which he aimed from the moment he assumed office must have induced him to increase their number at the same time.[154]

[153] *B.S.* 14ff.

[154] It is not known how many *wukalā'* held office in this period. By 1330 (1912), however, the *wukalā'* in the following list (F.Or.A. 284, VI/3, 4, 5,) held office in the areas mentioned. From the dates of their appointment, the gradual increase of their number is apparent even before 1323 (1905), when the Internal Regulations came into force.

Area in which wakil held office	*Name*[1]	*Residence*	*Date of appointment*
Alexandria	Sa'īd Bek Ghurbāwī		
Dimyāṭ	'Abd Al-Salām Bek al-Khafājī		
Būr Sa'īd	'Abd al-Fattāḥ Abū 'l-Ḥasan		
al-Suways	M. al-Minshāwī		
AL-QALYŪBIYYA	M. 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Najjār	Benhā	29 Rab. II 1330
markaz Qalyūb	Ṣāliḥ M. al-Sharīf	(near) Shalqān	16 Muḥ. 1320
markaz Ṭūkh	Yūsuf M. Ḥarīz	Ṭūkh al-Malak	24 Jum. I 1327
markaz Nawā	M. Qāsim Manṣūr	Kafr Shibīn	8 Jum. I 1319
AL-SHARQIYYA	M. Bek al-Shīmī	al-Zaqāzīq	10 May 1902
markaz Minyā al-Qamḥ	Sālim Sharf al-Dīn	Minyā al-Qamḥ	8 Rab. II 1323
markaz Bilbays	M. al-Zāhid	Bilbays	17 Rab. I 1321
markaz Hihyā	M. Ibrāhīm al-Misallimī	(near) Fawāqiṣa	16 Muḥ. 1321
markaz Kafr Ṣaqar	Aḥmad Abū 'l-Ḍayf	Abū 'l-Shuqūq	7 Sha'bān 1319
markaz Fāqūs	Ḥasan Sālim Farḥān	Fāqūs	19 Ḥijja 1328
AL-DAQAHLIYYA	Maḥmūd Najm al-Dīn	al-Manṣūra	
markaz al-Manṣūra	*idem*		
markaz al-Sinbillāwayn	Aḥmad 'Abd al-'Āl	al-Sinbillāwayn	23 Sha'bān 1322
markaz Minyat Samannūd	Aḥmad M. Sha'bān	al-Sinbillāwayn	4 Rab. II 1330

[1] M. stands for Muḥammad.

markaz Dikirnis	Maḥmūd M. al-Biltājī	Minshāt 'Āṣim	7 Sha'bān 1319
markaz Mīt Ghamr	M. Ṣāliḥ	al-Sinbillāwayn	7 Rab. II 1323
AL-GHARBIYYA	Ḥusayn al-Qaṣabī	Ṭantā	13 Shawwāl 1326
markaz al-Santā	M. Abū 'l-Samī'	Kafr Kilā al-Bāb	9 Ṣaf. 1321
markaz Ziftā	Sha'bān 'Aṭiyya	Damanhūr al-Waḥsh	20 Raj. 1323
markaz Kafr al-Zayyāt	Ḥusayn 'Abd Allāh al-Shāṭir	Kafr al-Zayyāt	25 Qa'da 1328
markaz al-Maḥalla	M. al-Yamānī Abū 'l-Yūsuf	al-Maḥalla al-Kubrā	11 Rab. II 1330
markaz Kafr al-Shaykh	M.M. al-Mughāzī[2]	al-Kūm al-Ṭawīl	6 Jum. II 1321
markaz Shirbīn	M. Abū Ḥāmid	?	9 Sha'bān 1325
markaz Fuwa	M. Bek Ṣādiq Shattā (?)	Disūq	21 Jum. II 1314
markaz Ṭalkhā	Ibrāhīm Abū 'l-'Aliyya	Bīlah	7 Raj. 1321
markaz Disūq	M. Bek Ṣādiq Shattā (?)	Disūq	21 Jum. II 1314
Ma'mūriyyat al-Burullus	*idem*		
AL-MINŪFIYYA	Abū 'l-'Aynayn Ḥanūt	Shabīn al-Kūm	1319
markaz Shabīn al-Kūm	Ḥāfiẓ Maḥmūd	Dilibshān	4 Ṣaf. 1321
markaz Talā	'Alī al-'Imrānī	al-Ni'mā'iyya	25 Jum. I 1321
markaz Minūf	'Iwaḍ Ḥasan Zalābiyya (?)	Ashmūn	1 Rab. II 1320
markaz Ashmūn	*void*		
AL-BUḤAYRA	Aḥmad 'Abd al-Muta'āl al-Khurāshī	Damanhūr	15 Raj. 1328
markaz Abū Ḥummuṣ	Ibrāhīm Sharaf al-Dīn	Zāwiyat al-Ghazzāl	5 Jum. I 1322
markaz Kūm Ḥamāda	'Abd al-Ghanī Farīj	Zāwiyat al-Farīj	28 Muḥ. 1321
markaz Shubrākhīt	Yūsuf Ḥasan Qusayr	Maḥallat Bishr	12 Sha'bān 1321
AL-JĪZA	M. Nuwaytū	Imbābā	
markaz Imbābā	*idem*		
BANĪ SUWAYF	M. Bek Yāsīn	Banī Suwayf	
markaz Banī Suwayf	*idem*	*idem*	
markaz al-Wāsṭā	Sayyid 'Ābidīn	'Aṭf (Ifwa)	15 Ḥijja 1319
AL-FAYYŪM	M. 'Abd al-Muta'āl	al-Fayyūm	
AL-MINYĀ	'Abd al-Jawwād Aḥmad[3]	al-Qāyāt	10 Raj. 1320
markaz Abū Qurqāṣ	Maḥmūd Mādī Abū 'l-'Azā'im	al-Maṭāhra	5 Rab. I 1329
markaz Samālūṭ	M. Ismā'īl 'Alī al-Sharīf	Qulūṣanā	18 Jum. II 1321
markaz al-Minyā	Ṣāliḥ Aḥmad 'Abd al-Rāziq	al-Minyā	10 Raj. 1320
markaz al-Maghāgha	'Abd al-Jawwād Aḥmad	al-Qāyāt	10 Raj. 1320
ASYŪṬ			
markaz Asyūṭ	M. Zayn al-Dīn	Asyūṭ	25 Shawwāl 1326
markaz Mallawī	Ibrāhīm Aḥmad Ḥusayn	al-'Ashmūnayn	15 Jum. I 1320
markaz al-Manfalūṭ	M. Ḥusayn al-Bishr	al-Manfalūṭ	8 Rab. I 1320
markaz Abū 'l-Tij	Ḥasan M. 'Āshūr	Ṣidfā	
JIRJĀ			
markaz Sūhāj	Maḥmūd M. Yūsuf	Sūhāj	
markaz Akhmīm	'Abd al-Raḥmān Aḥmad 'Abd al-Ghanī	Akhmīm	1321
markaz Jirjā	M. 'Abd al-Jawwād al-Ḥuṣarī	Jirjā	7 Ḥijja 1320
al-Minshā (town only)	*idem*		
QINĀ	Hamūda Ḥifnī	al-Minshā	25 Muḥ. 1321
markaz Isnā	Aḥmad M. al-Sa'īdī	Naj' al-Sayyida	12 Muḥ. 1323
markaz Dishnā	M.M. al-Ḥifnī	al-Ḥalfāya	21 Jum. II 1323
Ṭimā (town only)	'Izz al 'Arab Bakrī Abū 'l-Sayr	Ṭimā	1321
bandar Qinā	Ḥusayn Ḥusayn al-Bakrī	Qinā	25 Ḥijja 1329
ASWĀN	*void*		

On the various administrative sub-divisions from the era of Muḥammad 'Alī until the middle of the present century see Ramzī, section 2, vol. 1, 8ff.

[2] The son of M. 'Alī al-Mughāzī, the first officially recognized head of al-Mughāziyya; see page 175f.

[3] The son of Aḥmad 'Abd al-Jawwād al-Qāyātī; see page 122.

Article 4 of the Internal Regulations set time-limits to the right of appeal to the Ṣūfī Council by the parties judged by a *wakīl*, as stated in the Regulations of 1903. Moreover, it was stipulated explicitly in the first clause of this article that communication between the *wukalā'* and the Ṣūfī Council, to which they would be accountable in their capacity as judiciaries for judgements given by them, was also to be made exclusively through al-Bakrī. This arrangement, in addition to the other provisions discussed above, placed al-Bakrī in a position that allowed him to retain optimal control over the network of *wukalā'* extending over the whole of Egypt, this being of crucial importance for control of the *ṭuruq* administration; it meant a curtailment of the rôle reserved to the Ṣūfī Council in this respect.

Judgement in cases concerning the shrines (art. 8), to which the regulations in the fourth section referred, was explicitly excluded from the judicial competence of the *wukalā'* and reserved to the competence of the Ṣūfī Council. This section was largely complementary to the second article of the amended Regulations of 1903, which had defined, among other things, the category of shrines which were to be under the jurisdiction of the Ṣūfī Council. Appointment and dismissal of the intendants of the shrines would rest with the Council to which article 1 of this section also ascribed the right of appointing additional officials.[155] The customary practice of granting intendancy of a shrine at any time to any person who could prove he was the oldest and closest living descendant of the saint buried in the shrine,[156] was modified by the second article : this gave priority of office to the person who had been in charge of a shrine for five years or longer, even if he was not a descendant of the saint.

The third article obliged the intendant of a shrine to inform all the other officials attached to the shrine (*al-khidma*) about the offerings and donations he had collected. This clause must have been aimed at providing these officials with some guarantee that, at the end of the month, they would obtain the share of the *nudhūrāt* to which they were entitled, as prescribed. Traditionally the *nudhūrāt* used to be divided into three equal parts, of which one was destined for the maintenance of the shrine or shrine-mosque, as well as for the celebrations of festivals in connection with it; a second part could be

[155] For the various officials who could be attached to a shrine(-mosque), see chapter II, note 98.

[156] Cf. page 60, and also *Taqrīr 'an Waẓīfat al-Khilāfa*, 2.

kept by the intendant, while the third part was to be divided equally among the officials attached to it. For a number of shrines exceptional arrangements existed relating to the division of *nudhūrāt* (see above p. 87), of which, as may be inferred from the last clause of article 3, it had become customary to make an explicit statement in the decree appointing the intendant. That such particular arrangements must have become more the rule than the exception is suggested by the fact that traditional practice was not formalized in the Internal Regulations which contained only a vague reference to the size of the portions into which the *nudhūrāt* had to be divided and distributed.

It is not known to what extent the division of *nudhūrāt* into *nudhūrāt* intended to be used in or for the shrine and *nudhūrāt* intended for the officials attached to the shrine (*al-khidma*), which had been specified minutely in regulations issued by the *Dīwān al-Awqāf* in November 1898,[157] was also respected by the intendants under the jurisdiction of the *mashyakha*. It seems likely, however, that any serious imbalance between the two categories which benefited the intendant, would be disapproved of by the wider society if it came to their notice. Therefore, inclusion of clauses aimed at the prevention of such confusion was probably judged superfluous and the vague stipulations pertaining to the division of the *nudhūrāt* would be regarded as a sufficiently formal basis for dealing with all the predictable administrative complications in this area.

In the last section, under the heading "General Affairs", article 5

[157] See chapter II, note 281 (about kinds of *nudhūr*). The *Lā'iḥat al-nudhūrāt* also limited the income from these gifts to which the *khulafā'* of Aḥmad al-Badawī in Ṭanṭā were entitled by tradition; cf. *Lā'iḥa*, 9f. These limitations had been imposed upon them without their being consulted. This led to a dispute between the *khulafā'* and the authorities of which a partial account can be found in the *Taqrīr 'an Waẓīfat al-Khilāfa*.

With respect to the *ṣundūq al-nudhūr* of the Aḥmadī mosque, reforms had already been introduced in 1312 (1894/5), when Ibrāhīm al-Ẓawāhirī, who was appointed *shaykh* of the Aḥmadī mosque in the latter year, was also made responsible for the supervision of the *ṣundūq*. It reportedly had a four-fold yield after 1312 than when it was previously controlled by the *khulafā'* of the shrine; cf. *Dhikrā*, 28.

During al-Ẓawāhirī's term of office which was to last until 1326 (1908), and probably owing to his initiative, it became forbidden to enter the shrine with drums or any other instruments; cf. *Dhikrā*, *ibid.* In addition, the long-standing tradition by which the shrine-intendant of the Aḥmadī mosque was also *wakīl* of al-Bakrī, was discontinued at some time during this period; cf. F.Or.A. 385-II/44 (30 March 1904).

I have been told by various prominent members of al-Shinnāwiyya al-Aḥmadiyya, that the ceremonial entrance of the shrine by the *shaykh al-sajjāda* of their *ṭarīqa* mounted on a donkey, as described by Lane, 249, was also discontinued owing to prohibition by al-Ẓawāhirī.

provided for the formal abolition of rights of *qadam*. These rights could only be maintained in an adequate way with the aid of government agencies, and continued as long as it was in the interest of the effectiveness of the State's administration. When the Egyptian administration was reorganized by the end of the nineteenth century, and attained a greater efficiency, the *ṭarīqa* administration lost its significance for the State and in consequence the government agencies ceased to act in support of the principle which had determined the structure and functioning of the *ṭuruq* administration within Egyptian society for most of the nineteenth century. Subsequently, claims for rights of *qadam* became meaningless and abated when, at the turn of the century, maintenance of these rights had completely ceased to be the concern of al-Bakrī and the Ṣūfī Council,[158] as was thereafter expressed in the article providing for their formal abolition. Muḥammad Tawfīq seems to have made no effort to revive an administration centred on these rights. This, however, is not surprising since, even if it had been possible to return to such a type of administration, this would have implied a considerable involvement of government agencies, and therefore it would still have been impossible for him to establish the independent organization that he apparently desired.

The majority of the articles in the last section dealt with ritual practice and dogma. In these the traditionally required presence of a *khalīfa* during a *ḥaḍra* was formalized (art. 3), while it was made incumbent upon the *khulafā'* as well as upon the heads of the *ṭuruq*, to assemble with their disciples for a *ḥaḍra*, as well as for religious instruction and guidance,[159] at least once a week. In addition it

[158] At the beginning of the 20th century, however, some *ṭuruq* continued to claim right of *qadam* in certain areas and disputes originating in such claims are known to have occurred; see Muḥammad 'Umar, *Ḥāḍir al-Miṣriyyin aw Sirr Ta'akhkhurihim*, Cairo 1902, 253; cf. Abū Rayya, 45.

[159] In order to allow the heads of the *ṭuruq* and the *khulafā'* to prepare themselves for this task in a suitable way, Muḥammad Tawfīq al-Bakrī had a manual compiled under his supervision which was published under the title *Kitāb al-Ta'līm wa 'l-Irshād* in Cairo as early as 1317 (1899). As noted already by Sarkīs, *Mu'jam*, 581, most of its contents were taken from al-Ghazzālī's *Iḥyā'*. Various connecting passages, however, have clearly been written by Muḥammad Tawfīq himself; cf. N.-C.D., 'L'Aristocratie religieuse', 282f.

With respect to the *Kitāb al-Ta'līm*, D. B. Macdonald, *Aspects of Islam*, New York 1911, 169, states: "But he evidently, at one time did feel that he had to draw the line at some point or other and so in a moment of unwonted energy, he got some of his assitants to compile a textbook for the use of the shaykhs in charge of the derwish fraternities". Besides the fact that this passage (as well as another passage in the book; cf. 182) contains a superfluously derogatory reference to Muḥammad Tawfīq, which would seem to express the author's stereotyped contempt for orientals and their ways, it also shows that Macdonald must have been unaware of the existence of the various regulations pertaining to the *ṭuruq*, since he falsely presents the attempt for reform he must have heard about while in Cairo, as having been generated by this book.

contained a provision (cf. art. 2) intended to exclude from the *ṭuruq* anybody who adhered to the doctrines of *ḥulūl*, *ittiḥād*[160] and similar tenets. Since the earliest phase of Islamic mysticism these doctrines had been a matter of controversy[161] which had involved, among others, 'Alī Abū 'l-Nūr al-Jirbī, the head of al-Idrīsiyya al-Shādhiliyya, in the early nineties.[162]

The majority of the articles, however, were directed against the ritual practices regarded as *bida'*, which 'Abd al-Bāqī al-Bakrī had sought to eliminate two decades earlier. They therefore contained a number of directives for the *dhikr* (arts. 2 and 3) stipulating that it should be restricted to the praise of God and that all the letters of the names of God used in the *dhikr* should be pronounced, and also forbade the various forms of self-mutilation and the eating of serpents, insects etc. during a *ḥaḍra*. An article was also included which fixed the order of the *ṭuruq* in processions,[163] and prohibited the holding of processions in the daytime, unless ordered by the *shaykh mashāyikh al-ṭuruq al-ṣūfiyya (bāb al-mashyakha)*. In addition, it restricted participation on horseback in these events to the heads of the *ṭuruq* or their deputies (*nuwwāb*) and declared that nothing was to take place in a procession diverging from lawful behaviour (art. 7).

Moreover, it was forbidden for members of a *ṭarīqa* to walk with flags in front of a funeral procession. This was quite a common practice also at funeral processions of those who had not been

[160] *Ḥulūl*: the indwelling of God in a creature; cf. L. Massignon/G. C. Anawati, 'Ḥulūl' in *E.I.*², iii, 570f. and G. C. Anawati et L. Gardet, *Mystique Musulmane. Aspects et Tendences-Expériences et Techniques*, Paris 1961, 43, 33. *Ittiḥād*: identification of the Divine and human natures; cf. R. Nicholson/G. C. Anawati, 'Ittiḥād', *E.I.*², iv, 282-3.

[161] Cf. al-Ṭawīl, chapter 9, *passim*; Trimingham, *Sufi Orders*, 162; 'Abd al-Qādir Maḥmūd, *Al-Falsafa al-Ṣūfiyya fī 'l-Islām, Maṣādiruhā wa Naẓariyyātuhā wa Makānuhā min al-Dīn wa 'l-Ḥayā*, Cairo 1967, 230ff.

[162] See 'Abd Allāh al-Nadīm, 'Al-Ṭuruq wa Iṣlāḥuhā', *Al-Ustādh*, 35 (1893), 828-43, *passim*.

[163] In some cities a fixed rank-order in processions existed, sanctioned by tradition and agreed upon by the local *ṭuruq* officials; cf. F.Or.A. 283, V-11(18)/4 (22 Raj. 1296). For Cairo, the rank-order in the *maḥmal* procession had been fixed since 1872; cf. chapter II, note 157.

ṭarīqa members.[164] The *khalīfa* and his men used to receive a fee for participating with their flags on these occasions and sometimes for holding a *dhikr* during and as part of funeral processions as well as around the corpse before it was placed in the grave.[165] Therefore, directly or indirectly, since it was not unusual for a *khalīfa* to hire out his flags or other implements (see above p. 101), this prohibition affected the income of the *khulafā'*. The relevant article, however, was not a categorical prohibition of this practice, since it stipulated that special permission for participation with flags in funeral processions could be obtained from the *bāb al-mashyakha*. This fact, as well as the lack of specification of the forbidden practices in this section compared with the explicitness found in the circular drawn up by 'Abd al-Bāqī, suggests that Muḥammad Tawfīq had tried to formulate a set of rules pertinent to the elimination of *bida'*, which would be acceptable to the heads of the *ṭuruq* and could be presented at the same time as measures living up to the increased demand for *iṣlāḥ* by the reformists.

f. *The reformist calls for islāḥ of the ṭuruq*

The necessity for *iṣlāḥ* of the *ṭuruq* had already been recognized by Muḥammad Tawfīq himself as early as 1893, in a treatise with the title of *Al-Mustaqbal li'l-Islām*.[166] The ideas expressed upon this subject, as well as the general themes discussed in this booklet, are very much in accordance with the spirit of the time and betray the influence of Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī, whom Muḥammad Tawfīq had met in Istanbul in 1892.[167] This makes it understandable therefore, that when

[164] Cf. Lane, 519, 522; *Al-Manār*, i (1898), 786, and D. Sladen, *Oriental Cairo. The City of the "Arabian Nights"*, London 1911, 219ff. For a late 19th century condemnation of this practice as *bid'a*, see Aḥmad b. Aḥmad b. Ismā'īl al-Ḥalwānī (1253-1308 : 1837/8-1890/1), *Wasā'il al-Raḥamāt fīmā yuṭlabu li-man māt*, Cairo 1956, 344.

[165] Cf. Maḥmūd Khaṭṭāb al-Subkī, *Tuḥfat al-Abṣār wa 'l-Baṣā'ir fī Bayān Kayfiyyat al-Sayr ma' al-Janāza ilā al-Maqābir*, Cairo 1316, 5; and also M. Galāl, 'Essai d'observations sur les rites funéraires en Égypte actuelle. Relevées dans certaines régions campagnardes', *R.E.I.*, 1937, 177.

For a discussion of the various legal and theological issues involved, see Muḥammad al-Amīr al-Ṣaghīr, *Fatḥ al-Qadīr 'alā al-Amīr fīmā yata'allaqu bi'l-Dhikr amām al-Janā'iz*, Cairo 1325; and also 'Abd Rabbihi b. Sulaymān al-Qalyūbī, *Fayḍ al-Wahhāb fī Bayān Ahl al-Ḥaqq wa man ḍalla 'an al-Ṣawāb*, vi vols., Cairo 1957-66, iv, 159ff., which contains a defence of the custom of *dhikr* during a funeral by a contemporary Azharī scholar (d. 1968).

[166] Muḥammad Tawfīq al-Bakrī, *Al-Mustaqbal li'l-Islām*, Cairo 1310, n.d., 18. For a summary of its contents see N.-C.D., 'L'Aristocratie religieuse', 281f.

[167] Cf. Fahmī, 47f., and 'Abd Allāh al-Nadīm, 'Al-Ṭuruq wa mā fīhā min al-Bida'', *Al-Ustādh*, 34 (1893), 841. The same article may be found in Muḥammad b. Muḥammad Muntaṣir (ed.), *Maqālāt al-Nadīm*, Cairo 1909, 114ff.; and in a different edition of the same collection of essays, Cairo : al-Mṭ. al-Jadīda, n.d., 52ff. For al-Nadīm's ideas about *iṣlāḥ* of the *ṭuruq* see also his 'Al-Ṭuruq wa Iṣlāḥuhā', *Al-Ustādh*, 35 (1893), 828ff.

Muḥammad Tawfīq had assumed office as *shaykh mashāyikh al-ṭuruq al-ṣūfiyya*, a man like 'Abd Allāh al-Nadīm expressed his confidence that he would exterminate *bida'* rampant among the members of the *ṭuruq* and work for their return to the *sunna*.[168]

Being newly appointed as head of the *ṭuruq*, however, Muḥammad Tawfīq was not yet in a position to take such action, which would have been detrimental to his efforts to re-establish his authority. He therefore refrained from taking any measures aimed at the elimination of *bida'* and resisted pressure to do so, like the pressure exercised upon him by Muḥammad Rashīd Riḍā in a number of personal contacts in the course of 1897,[169] and from 1898 onwards in his periodical *Al-Manār* where he published articles critical of *taṣawwuf* in Egypt in particular.[170]

Reformist criticism of *taṣawwuf* became more intense and frequent at the beginning of the twentieth century. Notable among its critics were authors like 'Abd al-Ḥamīd al-Zahrāwī,[171] Muḥammad 'Umar[172] and 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Kawākibī,[173] whose writings, since they attacked a religious tradition of which Muḥammad Tawfīq al-Bakrī was the foremost representative and, at least in Egypt, was almost its symbol, virtually amounted to an attack upon al-Bakrī himself.

Possibly in response to the criticism expressed by these authors, and at least in accordance with the increasing demand for *iṣlāḥ* of the *ṭuruq*, Muḥammad Tawfīq, as he himself states in his *Bayt al-Ṣiddīq*,[174] had drawn up most of the articles of the Internal Regulations pertaining to elimination, including article 6 which

[168] Cf. al-Nadīm, 'Al-Ṭuruq wa mā fīhā min al-Bida'', 786ff.

[169] Riḍā, i, 129.

[170] See e.g. *Al-Manār*, i (1898), 119, 401, 404ff., 423ff.; ii (1899), 401ff.; iv (1901), 594ff.

[171] 'Abd al-Ḥamīd al-Zahrāwī, *Al-Fiqh wa 'l-Taṣawwuf*, Cairo 1319. The author was president of *Al-Mu'tamar al-'Arabī* in Paris; see Shafīq, ii/2, 376 and iii, 79ff. 'Abd al-Ḥamīd al-Zahrāwī was arrested in Syria, officially for the publication of this book. The real reason for his arrest, however, appears to have been an article he wrote on the caliphate; cf. Muḥammad 'Abduh, *Al-Islām wa 'l-Naṣrāniyya ma' al-'Ilm wa 'l-Madaniyya*, Cairo 1341 (3rd ed.), 100. For his biography see *Al-Manār*, xix (1916), 196.

[172] 'Umar, 249ff.

[173] 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Kawākibī, *Umm al-Qurā, Ḍabṭ Mufāwadāt wa Muqarrarāt Mu'tamar al-Nahḍa al-Islāmiyya al-Mun'aqid fī Makka Sanat 1319*, Cairo n.d. (4th ed.; about 1320 : 1902), 19.

[174] *B.S.*, 21.

contained a clause defining the right to celebrate a *mawlid*, and providing for the elimination of *bida'* during these events; and article 2 which contained a clause prohibiting the staging of a *zār*[175] in shrines.

The inclusion of article 9, however, which aimed at making it impossible for anyone belonging to a *ṭarīqa* to organize a *ḥaḍra* for commercial purposes, notably with the intention of parody or mere amusement of the public, appears rather superfluous, since a similar clause which made this and other forms of commercial exploitation of religion a criminal offence, was about to be included in what would be the new Egyptian Penal Code, due to come into force in 1904. That Muḥammad Tawfīq, who had recommended its inclusion in the Penal Code[176] nevertheless deemed it worthwhile to include an identical article in the Internal Regulations for the *Ṭuruq*, may very well have been the direct result of the publication of articles in Egyptian newspapers at the beginning of the twentieth century, criticizing the commercialization of religion in such performances where the public consisted mainly of Europeans.[177]

Of the last two articles of the Regulations, one (art. 10) covered all eventualities by stipulating that the basic tenets of the *sharī'a* and the prescribed rules would apply to every occurrence for which there was no special stipulation. The final article ordered punishments of reprimand, suspension and expulsion from all the *ṭuruq*, as had been customary at least since the days of 'Alī al-Bakrī, for the violation of any stipulation in the Regulations.

[175] From among the numerous publications about the *zār* see e.g. P. Kahle, 'Zar-Beschwörungen in Egypten', *Der Islam*, 3 (1912), 1-41; E. Francke, 'The Zār in Egypt', *MW* 3 (1913), 275-289; W. S. Blackmann, *The Fellāḥīn of Upper Egypt. Their religious, social and industrial life to-day with special reference to survivals from ancient times*, London 1927, 189ff.; Amīn, *Qāmūs*, 217; and Nafīsa Badawī, 'Al-Zār wa 'l-Ṭuqūs al-Siḥriyya', *Majallat 'Ilm al-Nafs al-'Āmm*, xvi (Cairo 1950), 50-69. The *zār* has also been the subject of an as yet unpublished M.A.-thesis: Fāṭima al-Miṣrī, 'Al-Zār, Dirāsa Nafsiyya Ijtimā'iyya' ('Ayn Shams University 1966). According to the author, the *zār* was not known in Egypt before the Egyptian occupation of the Sudan in the early 19th century, since it is not mentioned in the *Description de l'Égypte*, nor in Lane's *Manners and Customs* or the report of J. Bowring (*Report on Egypt and Candia*, London 1840).

[176] Cf. *B.S.*, 22; Shuhdī, 125. The penalty for this offence could be a year's imprisonment or a fine of fifty pounds.

[177] Cf. 'Umar, 250, and also *Al-Manār*, i (1898), 48, 924ff. In particular the *ḥaḍarāt* held in the takīyat al-Mawlawiyya and the takīyat Qaṣr al-'Aynī after the Friday prayer had become veritable tourist attractions; cf. H. de Vaujany, *Le Caire et ses Environs. Caractères, Mœurs, Coutumes des Égyptiens modernes*, Paris 1883, 317ff.; K. Baedeker, *Egypt. Handbook for Travellers*, Leipsic/London 1885, 239.

g. *Opposition to and acceptance of the Internal Regulations*

When Muḥammad Tawfīq submitted the Regulations to the Ṣūfī Council in the autumn of 1903, however, its members, with the support of the heads of the *ṭuruq* and possibly acting under pressure from them, refused to give their approval. Among their objections, set out in a letter[178] from the Council's members to al-Bakrī, was that almost every article contained reference to a required permission or approval from al-Bakrī. In addition they maintained that the Regulations of 1903 were quite sufficient for the administration of the *ṭuruq* and there was no need for additions, and, moreover, that they were not in a position to proclaim any additions to regulations which had been issued by khedivial decree.

Their main objections, however, must have been that the Internal Regulations would make the proper functioning of the Council as the judicial and legislative body of the *ṭuruq* realm entirely dependent upon al-Bakrī, since it would be from him that most of the information would have to be obtained. This dependence, combined with the fact that the Council had only a very limited degree of control over the network of *wukalā'*, must have been considered as a limitation to the potentially active rôle which had been allotted to the Council by the Regulations of 1903.

Moreover, they probably opposed the inclusion of the clauses pertaining to *bida'* for reasons which must have been identical to those that made the contents of the circular drawn up by 'Abd al-Bāqī al-Bakrī unacceptable almost a quarter of a century earlier. Less than two years later, however, in April 1905, the Ṣūfī Council accepted the Internal Regulations[179] which, in accordance with the Regulations of 1903 (art. 5), acquired the status of a decree applying to everybody designating himself a *ṣūfī*.

Both sets of Regulations in conjunction with each other gave the *ṭarīqa* administration a self-sufficiency and distinctiveness unmatched at any previous stage and therefore contained a guarantee of immunity from supervision by or incorporation into other institutions. For the office of *shaykh mashāyikh al-ṭuruq al-ṣūfiyya* at the top of the administration, the Regulations provided more than ever before specificity and autonomy of the authority allotted to it, recognized

[178] MS Leiden, Or. 14431/VI (12 Jum. II 1321).

[179] It was accepted in a session of the Ṣūfī Council, convened for this purpose on 22 April 1905 (17 Ṣafar 1323); cf. *Lā'iḥat al-Ṭuruq al-Ṣūfiyya*, Cairo 1342, 4.

by the majority of the heads of the *ṭuruq* and their members, who were estimated at that time to be over one million.[180] Therefore it seems justifiable to state that no *shaykh al-sajjāda al-Bakriyya* before Muḥammad Tawfīq had held such great authority, at least with respect to the *ṭuruq*.[181].

How Muḥammad Tawfīq managed to induce the heads of the *ṭuruq*[182] as represented by the Ṣūfī Council[183] to accept the Internal Regulations, is obscure. However, since hardly any effort was made to enforce the articles aimed at reforming ritual practice,[184] it seems likely that the Regulations had only been accepted with the knowledge, or possibly under the condition or with the guarantee that these articles at least would not be enforced. This would suggest that the majority of these articles must have been introduced primarily as a response to the demands of the reformists in order to silence their increasing criticism.

Initially, this objective seems to have been accomplished successfully. But by the end of 1908, when the absence of any effort to implement these articles must have raised doubts about the seriousness of al-Bakrī's intentions in reformist circles, one of their most prominent representatives, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Jāwīsh, criticized Muḥammad Tawfīq in an open letter which was published in Muṣṭafā Kāmil's daily, *Al-Liwā'*,[185] for not opposing the unlawful activities of the members of the *ṭuruq* during the *mawlid al-nabī* celebrations he had witnessed in that

[180] See p. 11 of the *Mu'ayyad*-edition mentioned in note 137. Muḥammad Tawfīq al-Bakrī estimates the total number of *ṭarīqa* members at 1,100,000.

[181] For a different view, see D. Crecelius, *The Emergence*, 117f.

[182] The names of the heads of these *ṭuruq* are given in the list on pages 181 and 182. The head of al-Rifāʿiyya, however, was not yet Muḥammad Muḥammad Yāsīn, but his predecessor and father, Muḥammad Ḥusayn Yāsīn [Ḥusayn b. Muṣṭafā's son and successor (see above pages 37 and 69)], who died at the end of 1905. Also the first two *shaykh*s mentioned in the list did not attend the occasion since they had not yet been recognized as heads of *ṭarīqa*s.

[183] The Council's members were Muḥammad Nuwaytū, Muḥammad Masʿūd, Muḥammad Yāsīn and Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Ghanī. The four deputy members were Muḥammad ʿĀshūr, ʿAbd al-Majīd al-Barmūnī, Muḥammad Aḥmad al-ʿAfīfī, and Muḥammad ʿUthmān al-Mīrghanī; cf. MS Leiden, Or. 14431/VI (12 Jum. II 1321).

[184] See the complaints about this in *Al-Mu'ayyad*, July 22 and 28 1915, and August 5 and 6 of the same year.

[185] *Al-Liwā'*, 24 November 1908; quoted by Anwar al-Jundī, *'Abd al-'Azīz Jāwīsh, min Ruwwād al-Tarbiya wa 'l-Ṣiḥāfa wa 'l-Ijtimā'*, Cairo 1965, 208f. The sequence in which this event is presented by Fahmī in his monograph about Muḥammad Tawfīq, suggests that the letter was published directly after Muḥammad Tawfīq had assumed office. In my 'Al-mashāyikh al-Bakriyya ...', I followed al-Jundī's dating, which is, however, incorrect.

year. Neither al-Bakrī nor any of the heads of the officially recognized *ṭuruq* reacted to this attack, but maintained the silence that would be their characteristic response during the decade to come whenever they were attacked by those adhering to a non- or anti-mystical conception of Islam.[186]

h. *Status changes of the officially recognised ṭuruq*

By 1905, as appears from the article which regulates the order of precedence of the *ṭuruq* in processions (section 5, article 7), various *ṭuruq* which had hitherto been officially recognized in an earlier period had ceased to exist as such, viz. al-Jawhariyya, al-Sibāʿiyya, al-Bandāriyya, al-Ḥifniyya, al-Zāhidiyya, al-Ḥumūdiyya, and al-ʿArabiyya. For the first three *ṭuruq* mentioned, the change of status seems to have been the outcome of a gradual decline of active membership which set in when persons without capacity or ambition for *ṭarīqa* leadership were appointed as heads.

For al-Jawhariyya the change came after the death of Ḥasan al-Jawharī,[187] when his son ʿAbd al-Laṭīf (d. 1949) became *shaykh* of the *ṭarīqa*, while for al-Sibāʿiyya the decline set in at the turn of the century after Rāghib al-Sibāʿī's son Muḥammad had assumed office as this *ṭarīqa*'s supreme head (see above p. 147 and note 90).

The decline of al-Bandāriyya must also have begun around 1900, since ʿAṭiyya al-Ṣaghīr, the *shaykh* who had virtually made this *ṭarīqa*, died in 1899 and was succeeded by his son Ḥasan, who was inactive and indifferent; during his term of office even the *mawlid of* the principal saint of the *ṭarīqa*, ʿAṭiyya al-Kabīr, in al-Zaqāzīq had ceased to be celebrated.[188]

Hardly anything is known of when and why al-ʿArabiyya, al-Ḥifniyya, al-Zāhidiyya and al-Ḥumūdiyya ceased to exist as officially recognized *ṭuruq*. When, however, al-ʿArabiyya had already lost its former status

[186] See F. de Jong, 'Ṭuruq and ṭuruq-opposition in 20th century Egypt', in F. Rundgren (ed.), *Proceedings of the VIth Congress of Arabic and Islamic Studies*, Uppsala/Leiden 1975, 84-96.

[187] See page 111. I have not been able to secure the exact date of his death. According to the present-day head of the *ṭarīqa*, Rifʿat al-Jawharī, Ḥasan must have died in the first decade of the 20th century.

[188] Related to me by Muḥammad Muḥammad Ḥasan, present-day *shaykh* of this *ṭarīqa* resident in al-Zaqāzīq. It was not until 1970, under his supervision, that *mawlid* celebrations were held again.

at the beginning of the twentieth century, 'Abd al-Raḥmān 'Illaysh,[189] the son of Muḥammad 'Illaysh, the *shaykh al-sāda al-Mālikiyya* in al-Azhar, who had been the pre-eminent *shaykh* of al-'Arabiyya before 1882, claimed the leadership position for himself.[190] He does not seem to have taken the requirements of this position seriously, however, since he issued *ijāzāt* from any *ṭarīqa* into which he had been initiated by his father[191] to anyone applying for them.[192] Moreover, he did not concern himself in any way with the consolidation of his position as the *ṭarīqa*'s leader or the position of his *ṭarīqa*,[193] which must have caused it to decline and vanish from history.[194]

In the case of al-Ḥifniyya, which had a membership confined mainly to the Dimyāṭ area (see p. 115) loss of official recognition may very well have been the outcome of a decline in membership caused by the effective proselytization of other *ṭuruq* in this area, in particular that of al-Qāwuqajiyya;[195] while the fact that al-Zāhidiyya ceased to figure among the officially recognized *ṭuruq* after the death of Muḥammad Sulaymān al-Dīrīnī, suggests that the existence of this *ṭarīqa* must have been entirely dependent upon his personality. This seems to be confirmed by the fact that it does not appear to have been active, except under his leadership, after the middle of the nineteenth century. Of this *ṭarīqa*, however, as well as of al-Ḥumūdiyya, which had also ceased to be among the officially recognized *ṭuruq* at the end of the nineteenth century after the death of its *shaykh* Muṣṭafā

[189] For biographical notes, see Maḥmūd, *Al-Madrasa al-Shādhiliyya*, 248ff. Like his father he held the office of *shaykh al-sāda al-Mālikiyya* in al-Azhar; *ibid.*, 249.

[190] Cf. MS Leiden Or. 14431/VII, and also Maḥmūd, *Al-Madrasa al-Shādhiliyya*, 249.

[191] As mentioned in MS Leiden Or. 14431/VIII (1321) these were al-Tijāniyya, al-Aḥmadiyya al-Shādhiliyya(*sic*), al-Rifā'iyya, al-Qādiriyya, al-Aḥmadiyya al-Disūqiyya (*sic*), al-Sa'diyya, al-'Arabiyya al-Shādhiliyya, and presumably also al-Madaniyya; cf. *ibid.*/IX.

[192] Cf. *ibid.*

[193] This was suggested by the contents of a substantial number of 'Abd al-Raḥmān 'Illaysh's personal papers, which I was able to consult in a private collection in Cairo. A number of these papers relevant to the *ṭuruq* in Egypt were puchased by the author. These are now part of the collection MS Leiden Or. 14431.

'Abd al-Raḥmān was an adherent of Ibn al-'Arabī's teachings, of which testimony is to be found in the Italian/Arabic monthly *Al-Nādī*, which was edited in Cairo between 1905 and 1910 by Dr. Enrico Insabato.

[194] The latest reference to this *ṭarīqa* suggesting that it still had some active membership dates from 1928, is in an article in *Miṣr al-Ḥadītha al-Muṣawwara*, April-May 1928, no. 7; 20-23, under the title 'Al-Ṭuruq al-Ṣūfiyya fī Miṣr'.

[195] In particular by Muḥammad Khafājī; cf. page 110. In addition to the reference given there, see also Muḥammad 'Abd al-Mun'im Khafājī, *Banū Khafāja wa Ta'rīkhuhum al-Siyāsī wa 'l-Adabī*, ix vols., 5 parts, Cairo 1950-52, part 5, 96ff.

Ibrāhīm,[196] some nuclei of members remained active and both *ṭarīqa*s experienced a revival when, around 1930, new *shaykh*s were invested with supreme authority over these *ṭarīqa*s, thus restoring them to their former status.[197]

At the beginning of the twentieth century, when most of the *ṭuruq* dealt with in the preceding section were in a state of decline, two new *ṭarīqa*s, al-Mughāziyya al-Khalwatiyya and al-Ḥāmidiyya al-Shādhiliyya were in the ascendant. The first *ṭariqa* had been founded by Muḥammad 'Āmir al-Mughāzī, a resident of al-Kūm al-Ṭawīl in the northern Delta. He had been initiated into two different branches of al-Khalwatiyya by Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ al-Sibā'ī and a certain 'Alī al-Ma'addāwī, while his father, 'Āmir, had initiated him into al-'Afīfiyya al-Shādhiliyya.[198] At the end of the 1870's he assumed the intendancy of the newly built shrine-mosque of his ancestor Muḥammad al-Mughāzī in al-Kafr al-Gharbī near al-Kūm al-Ṭawīl,[199] in succession to his cousin Sa'īd Abū Zayd, who had abdicated in his favour.[200] From that moment he started to propagate a *ṭarīqa* of his own, not only in the northern Delta, but also in other areas, in particular in the north-east around Kafr al-Dawwār, where he lived towards the end of his life.[201] Throughout these areas he met with success, particularly in the course of the eighties when inadequate maintenance of rights of *qadam* facilitated proselytizing activities by those belonging to *ṭuruq* who could not claim such rights. Under his son and successor 'Alī, who also succeeded him as intendant of the shrine in al-Kūm al-Ṭawīl,[202] the *ṭarīqa*'s *silsila* going back to al-Sibā'iyya was dropped, and the second *silsila* linking it with Muṣṭafā Kamāl al-Dīn al-Bakrī's

[196] The date of his death and the period during which he held office in succession to Muḥammad Khaḍir (see page 69) are unknown. However, he must have died after Shawwāl 1310 (May/June 1893); cf. Shams al-Dīn, 26.

[197] These *shaykh*s were Muḥammad al-Maghribī (d. 1953) for al-Ḥumūdiyya, and Ḥasan Yūsuf Khalīl (d. 1955) for al-Zāhidiyya. On the reasons for their appointment and the subsequent development of these *ṭarīqa*s, see the relevant sections in my forthcoming monograph 'The Ṣūfī Orders in Post-Ottoman Egypt'.

[198] 'Āmir had been initiated by Aḥmad Minnat Allāh (d. 1292 : 1875; cf. al-Kattānī, i, 94), who had been initiated by Muḥammad al-Bahī, a disciple of 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-'Afīfī (see above pages 25 and 110).

[199] The shrine-mosque was built by the mother of the khedive Ismā'īl. On this and on the events which caused her to have this building erected, see Muḥammad Yūsuf al-Najātī, *Al-'Ibar fī Kashf Asrār al-Qarn al-Thāliṯ 'Ashar*, Cairo 1316, 35ff.

[200] *Ibid.*, 39f. He had connections with Aḥmad 'Urābī and 'Abd Allāh al-Nadīm at the time of the 'Urābī insurrection; cf. *ibid.*, *passim*.

[201] *Ibid.*, 40.

[202] *Ibid.*

version of al-Khalwatiyya through ʿAlī al-Maʿaddāwī was stressed, apparently in order to give the *ṭarīqa* a more distinct identity.[203] Owing to this distinctiveness and, it seems, to the fact that it had gained a substantial membership in various areas, the Ṣūfī Council granted it the status of officially recognized *ṭarīqa* in 1905, some time after it had accepted the Internal Regulations.[204]

About a year later, in 1906, al-Ḥāmidiyya al-Shādhiliyya was also officially recognized.[205] The founder of this *ṭarīqa*, Salāma Ḥasan al-Rāḍī (1866-1939)[206] had been a member of al-Makkiyya al-Fāsiyya in his early years.[207] Later he had joined al-Qāwuqajiyya and became a *khalīfa* in this *ṭarīqa* for the Būlāq area where he lived.[208] Towards the end of the nineteenth century, however, his provocative behaviour in a *majlis* held by Muḥammad Abū 'l-Fatḥ, the *shaykh al-sajjāda al-Qāwuqajiyya*, caused the latter to expel Salāma from the gathering.[209]

[203] Cf. ʿAlī Muḥammad al-Mughāzī, *Al-Fuyūḍāt al-Iḥsāniyya wa 'l-Tadrījāt al-Insāniyya fī Sayr al-Ṭarīq al-Khalwatiyya bi'l-Munāsabāt al-Kawniyya*, Cairo 1301, 10, where this *silsila* is still given, with the *silsila* in the photocopied *ijāza* of the *ṭarīqa* with the date 1 Muḥarram 1356 (March 1937) in MS Leiden, Or. 14431/X.

[204] It must have been at that time, since the *ṭarīqa* does not figure among the *ṭuruq* of which the rank-order in processions is fixed in section 5 article 7 of the Internal Regulations, while it is included in the list of officially recognized *ṭuruq*, which figures in *B.S.*, published in 1906; cf. *B.S.*, 381.

[205] Cf. Salāma Ḥasan al-Rāḍī, *Al-Minaḥ al-Ḥāmidiyya fī 'l-Ḥikam wa 'l-Mawāʿiẓ al-Shādhiliyya wa baʿḍ Aḥādīth Nabawiyya*, Cairo 1326, 99ff. The various speeches delivered and poems read as part of the celebrations on the occasion of the official recognition are given here. On page 112 at the end of a *qaṣīda*, which was read during this event by Ḥasan al-Marzūqī, *shaykh al-sajjāda al-Madaniyya*, the year 1324 (1906), in which recognition was granted, is mentioned.

The monograph by M. Gilsenan, *Saint and Sufi in Modern Egypt. An Essay in the Sociology of Religion*, Oxford 1973, deals with this *ṭarīqa* in particular. For strictures on this study, see my review in *JSS*, xix/2 (Autumn 1974), 322-328.

[206] The official biography of this *shaykh* written for the instruction of the *ṭarīqa*'s members is Sayf al-Naṣr Muḥammad al-ʿĀmirī, *Sīrat al-Ḥāmidiyya*, Cairo 1965. Short biographies may also be found in al-Kūhin, 246ff. and Mujāhid, *Aʿlām*, iii, 103f.

[207] Cf. al-ʿĀmirī, 12. The Fāsiyya claim that he was initiated by Muḥammad Aḥmad al-Makkāwī, who was the principal *khalīfa* of what is still the main *zāwiya* of this *ṭarīqa* in Cairo, in al-Nāṣiriyya.

[208] He was initiated by the founder of this *ṭarīqa*, Muḥammad Abū 'l-Maḥāsin al-Qāwuqajī himself. This fact is not mentioned in al-ʿĀmirī's biography of Salāma and is flatly denied by the present-day Ḥāmidiyya. However, in a speech delivered during the celebrations on the occasion of the official recognition in 1906, this *shaykh* was referred to as the most eminent among Salāma's teachers; cf. al-Rāḍī, *Al-Minaḥ*, 102.

[209] The following account is based upon information I obtained from the late Ḥāmid al-Laythī (d. 1971), who was one of the *ṭarīqa*'s principal *khulafāʾ* in Cairo and a member at the time of these events; and from the present-day head of al-Qāwuqajiyya, Riḍā b. Muḥammad Abū 'l-Fatḥ al-Qāwuqajī. Their account was confirmed by many other informants.

This action, which can hardly have been intended as anything more than a temporary disciplinary measure, caused Salāma to sever all relationships with his former *shaykh* and must have been the decisive incentive for establishing his own *ṭarīqa* independent of al-Qāwuqajiyya. In order to assert this fact he adopted the *silsila* of al-Fāsiyya,[210] into which he had been initiated before he had become a member of al-Qāwuqajiyya. The adoption of this *silsila* had the advantage of linking him with a respectable and well-known *ṭarīqa* without running the risk of the head of this *ṭarīqa* claiming authority over him, since al-Fāsiyya had ceased to exist as an officially recognized *ṭarīqa* at the end of the ninteenth century (see p. 136). His successful proselytization, followed by official recognition of his *ṭarīqa* by the Ṣūfī Council, was opposed by Muḥammad Abū 'l-Fatḥ, the head of al-Qāwuqajiyya, who continued to consider Salāma as one of his *khulafāʾ*, and therefore as subject to his authority.[211] But his claim had no support from Muḥammad Tawfīq al-Bakrī or from the members of the Ṣūfī Council, which decided in favour of official recognition of Salāma as *shaykh* of an independent *ṭarīqa* before the end of 1906, notwithstanding Muḥammad Abū 'l-Fatḥ's objections and the proven fact that Salāma had been one of his *khulafāʾ*.[212]

In the same year a branch of al-Sammāniyya was considered for official recognition. In the nineteenth century this *ṭarīqa* had spread not only in Egypt but also in the Sudan, where it was introduced around 1800 by Aḥmad al-Ṭayyib Ibn al-Bashīr (d. 1239 : 1823),[213] a *khalīfa* of Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Sammān, the founder of the *ṭarīqa*. Under the leadership of Aḥmad's son and successor, Nūr

[210] In the earliest Fāsiyya *silsila* claimed by Salāma, a certain Muḥammad Ibrāhīm, a disciple of Muḥammad Shams al-Dīn al-Makkī al-Fāsī, is mentioned as his *shaykh*; cf. al-Rāḍī, *Al-Minaḥ*, 109. After 1926 he appears to have dropped this *silsila* and substituted for it a different one in which a certain ʿAlī Marzūq al-Mālikī is mentioned as his *shaykh*; cf. Ibrāhīm Salāma al-Rāḍī, *Murshid al-Murīd fī 'l Fiqh wa 'l-Taṣawwuf wa 'l-Tawḥīd*, Cairo 1962, 61.

[211] As I was informed by Riḍā Abū 'l-Fatḥ, the officially recognized independent status of al-Ḥāmidiyya had not been acknowledged by him and those belonging to his *ṭarīqa*, until the present day.

[212] Among those belonging to al-Qāwuqajiyya as well as among those belonging to other *ṭuruq*, there is a wide-spread conviction that Salāma paid a substantial bribe in order to obtain confirmation as *shaykh* of an independent *ṭarīqa*.

[213] For a biography see al-Ṭayyibī, 57ff. For an outline of his teachings see ʿAbd al-Qādir Maḥmūd, *Al-Fikr al-Ṣūfī fī 'l-Sūdān*, Cairo 1968-9, 71ff.

al-Dā'im (d. 1286 : 1869),[214] it developed into one of the most widespread *ṭuruq* in the region before al-Mahdiyya.[215]

Until then, the Egyptian *ṭuruq* received active government support and encouragement in their proselytizing efforts,[216] which carried their propagandists into Equatorial Africa, to the extreme limits of the Egyptian conquests.[217] The agents of al-Sa'diyya,[218] the Egyptian Qādiriyya and some Aḥmadiyya *ṭuruq* were particularly successful.[219] Theoretically the *khulafā'* of the Egyptian *ṭuruq* in the Sudan and their followers remained subject to the authority of the head of the *ṭarīqa* in Cairo and in the final resort to the authority of al-Bakrī, which extended to the Sudan as well.[220] But neither al-Bakrī nor any of the heads of the Egyptian *ṭuruq* seem to have been able to exercise very much effective control in this area.[221] No institutional provisions which would have allowed for this, like those implied by and connected with the principle of right of *qadam*, were available and the various *ṭuruq*, al-Mīrghaniyya excepted, led an independent existence, mainly confined to the Sudan and without formal links with the Egyptian *ṭuruq* realm.[222]

In the second half of the nineteenth century, however, a modified branch of al-Sammāniyya, led by Aḥmad al-Ṭayyib's grandson

[214] For a biography, *ibid.* 111ff.

[215] Cf. F.Or.A. 284-V/24 (Report on the *ṭuruq* in the Sudan). In this report the number of his adherents is estimated to have numbered about one third of the (male) population.

[216] Le Chatelier, *L'Islam au XIX^e siècle*, 89; *idem*, *Confréries*, 180.

[217] Le Chatelier, *L'Islam*, 91.

[218] Cf. Le Chatelier, *Confréries*, 211. The principal propagator of this *ṭarīqa* in the Sudan in the second half of the 19th century was Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad al-Qūṣī. He was charged with this mission by the then *shaykh al-sajjāda* Aḥmad Muḥammad al-Khuḍarī. Al-Qūṣī is the author of a collection of *qaṣā'id* in Sudanese colloquial, which were intended to be sung at the *ḥaḍarāt*. These were published under the title *Dīwān Sulṭān al-'Āshiqīn al-'Ārif bi 'llāh ta'ālā Sīdī Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad al-Qūṣī ..., al-musammā bi'l-Tuḥfa al-Duriyya fī 'l-Taghazzulāt al-Muḥammadiyya*, Būlāq 1309.

[219] Le Chatelier, *L'Islam*, 89.

[220] Le Chatelier, *Confréries*, 36.

[221] Cf. Trimingham, *Islam in the Sudan*, 200.

[222] In addition to al-Sammāniyya these *ṭuruq* included various branches of al-Qādiriyya and of al-Shādhiliyya like al-Rāshidiyya, al-Idrīsiyya and al-Majdhūbiyya (See for the teachings of this *ṭarīqa*, Muḥammad al-Majdhūb b. Qamar al-Dīn, *Al-Wāridāt al-Wahabiyya fī Awrād al-Ṭarīqa al-Majdhūbiyya*, Cairo 1381, and *idem*, *Al-Jumāna al-Yatīma fī Dhikr Mi'rāj al-Dhāt al-'Aẓīma* (Lith.), n.p., n.d. (prior to 1301 A.H.), as well as al-Tijāniyya and a branch of al-Mīrghāniyya, al-Ismā'īliyya (for a summary of the teachings of this *ṭarīqa*, see Ismā'īl b. 'Abd Allāh, *Al-'Uhūd al-Wāfiyya al-Jaliyya fī Kayfiyyat Ṣifat al-Ṭarīqa al-Ismā'īliyya*, Cairo 1319).

Muḥammad al-Sharīf (d. 1327 : 1909),[223] which the latter had named al-Ṭayyibiyya al-Sammāniyya al-Bakriyya,[224] gained a membership in Egypt.[225] Initially it remained confined to Aswān province only, but at the beginning of the twentieth century it had also gained adherents in Cairo.[226] Here the *ṭarīqa* had a *nā'ib* for Egypt, a certain 'Uthmān Bāshā 'Abd al-Ḥamīd al-Ibādī,[227] who solicited unsuccessfully for official confirmation as head of al-Ṭayyibiyya al-Sammāniyya al-Bakriyya in Egypt in 1906. Why he was not granted this status is unknown : the Ṣūfī Council's decision must have partly been the result of the campaign mounted against him by Ibrāhīm al-Jamal (d. 1912), the *shaykh al-Sammāniyya* in Egypt,[228] who probably regarded official recognition of al-Ibādī as a threat which would have weakened his own position in what must, by then, have been a rival relationship.[229] In addition, the Council may have been subjected to informal pressure at a high level from Muḥammad

[223] For extensive biographical information see al-Bashīr, *Al-Adab al-Ṣūfī al-Sūdānī*, 84ff., and for his modifications of al-Sammāniyya, *ibid.*, 88ff. He held the office of *naqīb al-ashrāf* for the Sudan and was also known as *shaykh mashāyikh al-ṭuruq al-ṣūfiyya* in that area; cf. *ibid.*, 89. This, however, can only have been an honorific, since no such office existed in the Sudan, either before al-Mahdiyya (cf. Trimingham, *Islam in the Sudan*, 200) or after the Anglo-Egyptian re-conquest [cf. in P.R.O.-F.O. 141/479 (1916-1927), file 2217 (On al-Mīrghanī family), the letter from Sir Lee Stack, the British High Commissioner in Egypt to Sir Stewart Symes, the Governor-General of the Sudan. In this letter Stack advocates the promotion of a policy by which all the *ṭuruq* in the Sudan would have one acknowledged head, who would correspond to the *shaykh mashāyikh al-ṭuruq* in Egypt. It is suggested that the position could be filled satisfactorily by 'Alī al-Mīrghanī, the supreme head of al-Mīrghaniyya in the Sudan. This letter illustrates a change in British religious policy in the Sudan, which started near the beginning of the First World War; cf. G. Warburg, 'Religious policy in the Northern Sudan; 'Ulamā' and Ṣūfism, 1888-1918', *Asian and African Studies*, vii (1971), 89-119].

[224] Here, al-Bakriyya refers to Muṣṭafā Kamāl al-Dīn al-Bakrī. Al-Ṭayyibiyya is, of course, entirely different from the Moroccan order of the same name.

[225] As communicated by 'Abd al-'Azīz Muḥammad Ibrāhīm al-Jamal, the present *shaykh al-sajjāda al-Sammāniyya* in Egypt; cf. al-Bashīr, *Al-Adab al-Ṣūfī*, 87.

[226] *Ibid.*

[227] He had been initiated by 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad al-Sharīf; cf. F.Or.A. 284, VI/1 (29 Rab. I 1324; and 21 Jum. I 1326). The latter was the son of Muḥammad al-Sharīf; cf. Aḥmad al-Ṭayyib b. al-Bashīr, *Sirr al-Asrār*, n.p. 1320, 3.

[228] Oral information from 'Abd al-'Azīz Muḥammad Ibrāhīm al-Jamal, the present *shaykh al-sajjāda al-Sammāniyya* in Egypt. I have not been able to secure more precise information about this matter. Ibrāhīm al-Jamal had been a *khalīfa* before he succeeded Ḥasan al-Sammān (see p. 73) as *shaykh al-Sammāniyya* in Egypt. Shortly before his death, Ibrāhīm became a member of the *hay'at kibār al-'ulamā'* in al-Azhar, instituted in 1911; cf. Wizārat al-Awqāf wa Shu'ūn al-Azhar, *Al-Azhar. Ta'rikhuhu wa Taṭawwuruhu*, Cairo 1964, 330f.

[229] This rival relationship was still existent in the early 1970's.

al-Sharīf, the head of the *ṭarīqa* in the Sudan, who was in Cairo at the time.[230] He would have been able to influence the negative decision of the Council, since he was particularly connected with circles within al-Azhar and the government agencies.[231] He is likely to have used these contacts in his efforts to prevent the official recognition of his *nā'ib* as *shaykh al-Ṭayyibiyya* in Egypt, since it would have implied that the supreme representative of this *ṭarīqa* in Egypt could act without the legitimation of the head of the *ṭarīqa* in the Sudan, and would have made al-Ibādī entirely independent of Muḥammad al-Sharīf. Moreover, it would have amounted to the creation of a virtually independent Ṭayyibiyya order in Egypt, since official recognition of al-Ibādī as *shaykh* of a *ṭarīqa* would have given him authority over the members of al-Ṭayyibiyya in Egypt, from which Muḥammad al-Sharīf would then have been excluded. This can hardly have been an acceptable prospect for al-Sharīf, who could only act effectively through his contacts with the high Egyptian officials referred to above, since he had no official status in Egypt.

By 1906 the Ṣūfī Council had also re-admitted to the ranks of the officially recognized *mashāyikh al-ṭuruq*, the head of al-Shahāwiyya al-Burhāmiyya, Muḥammad Abū 'l-'Alā' al-Ḥusaynī.[232] The latter had ceased to be considered as one of them when he adopted a position of non-involvement in al-Bakrī's administration in 1895 (see p. 135f.). So after al-Ḥāmidiyya had become an officially recognized *ṭarīqa* in 1906, the following thirty-three *shaykh*s held legal authority over *ṭuruq* which had this status:[233]

[230] Cf. al-Bashīr, *Al-Adab*, 87.

[231] 'Abd al-Maḥmūd Nūr al-Dā'im, *Azāhīr al-Riyāḍ fī Manāqib Aḥmad al-Ṭayyib*, Cairo 1954, chapter 2, *passim*.

[232] Information obtained from the present-day head of the *ṭarīqa*, Abū 'l-Majd al-Shahāwī, corroborated by the fact that this *ṭarīqa* appears in the list of *ṭuruq* which were recognized by al-Bakrī in the second half of 1906, published in *B.S.*, 381. The title page of this book gives as the year of its publication A.H. 1323 (8 March 1905-25 February 1906). The corpus of the book, however, must have been printed somewhat later, since it appears to have been brought up to date to at least April 1906; cf. *B.S.*, 25f.

[233] This list was compiled from various sources and verified with the present-day (1972) heads of all the *ṭuruq* mentioned in it with the exception of al-'Īsawiyya and al-Tihāmiyya. The last two *ṭarīqa*s have ceased to function as officially recognized ones, under one central *shaykh*, although they still have an active membership in present-day Egypt. Muḥammad Khalīl al-Tihāmī may be identical with Muḥammad al-Tihāmī mentioned in the list reproduced on page 70. In documents in the possession of Muḥammad Wafā al-Bakrī, Muḥammad Khalīl was mentioned as *shaykh al-ṭarīqa al-Tihāmiyya* in 1906. Documents in the same collection mentioned 'Abduh Muḥammad al-Khayyāṭī as *shaykh al-ṭarīqa al-'Īsawiyya* in that year.

According to 'Alī Muḥammad al-Bannān, the principal *khalīfa* of the *ṭarīqa* in Alexandria and *khādim* of the shrine of Abū 'l-Dardā', interviewed in early 1969, Muḥammad al-Khayyāṭī had been the direct successor of 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Ṭūbī (see the list on page 69). Al-Shaykh 'Alī al-Bannān mentioned Muḥammad al-Khayyāṭī as head of the *ṭarīqa* in the days of Aḥmad 'Urābī. This statement is corroborated by mention of his name in F.Or.A. 283, III-10/4 (16 Raj. 1296). Reference to al-Shaykh Darwīsh as *shaykh al-ṭarīqa al-Ḥandūshiyya* in 1906 was also contained in the forementioned documents. Between Muḥammad al-Ḥandūsh (see the list on page 70) and al-Shaykh Darwīsh a certain Muḥammad al-Ḥabbānī held office; cf. F.Or.A. 283, III, 6-7 (23 Ṣaf. 1290).

Details about the predecessors and the recognition of the first eighteen *shaykh*s mentioned in this list may be found in the relevant sections in chapters III and IV. The following seven *mashāyikh* had been immediate successors to their fathers who are mentioned in the list on page 69 f. Of the last six *mashāyikh* mentioned, Ḥasan Ḥasan Jād (d. 1928) had succeeded Muṣṭafā al-Naqqāsh (see the list on page 69), who was not related to him. Maḥmūd Ḥasan al-Junaydī (d. 1936) succeeded his brother Muḥammad Ḥasan al-Junaydī (d. 1904). who had succeeded his father Ḥasan Maḥmūd. Ḥasan Maḥmūd had been successor of his uncle Muḥammad Muṣṭafā (see the list on page 69), whose father Muṣṭafā had been *shaykh al-ṭarīqa al-Ḥalabiyya* in the first half of the 19th century (see page 36). This chain of succession is mentioned in an *ijāza* dated 17 Rajab 1350, in the possession of Muḥammad Muṣṭafā Ḥamūda, *nā'ib* of the *ṭarīqa* in Cairo (al-Jamāliyya). He had the kindness to show me this document and allowed me to copy it.

'Abd al-Samī' al-Suṭūḥī had succeeded a cousin, 'Āmir, who had been the successor of 'Abd al-Samī''s brother Muḥammad. Muḥammad's predecessor had been his father Sayyid, who had succeeded his brother Muḥammad, the son and successor of 'Abd al-Raḥmān, the *shaykh al-ṭarīqa al-Suṭūḥiyya* mentioned in the list on page 69. Muḥammad 'Alī 'Āshūr had succeeded his father 'Alī who had succeeded his own father Muḥammad in his turn (see the list on page 69). Finally, Muḥammad 'Uthmān Sirr al-Khatm (d. 1917; cf. al-Kattānī, i, 419), the *shaykh al-ṭarīqa al-Mīrghaniyya*, had succeeded his uncle Muḥammad 'Uthmān Tāj al-Sirr (d. 1886; cf. chapter II, note 270), who had been the officially recognized head of the *ṭarīqa* in Egypt after Ibrāhīm Mubārak (see page 74).

Salāma Ḥasan al-Rāḍī	– al-Ḥāmidiyya al-Shādhiliyya
'Alī al-Mughāzī	– al-Mughāziyya al-Khalwatiyya
Muḥammad Muḥammad Yāsīn	– al-Rifā'iyya
Muḥammad Ibrāhīm 'Alī	– al-Imbābiyya al-Aḥmadiyya
Muḥammad Maḥmūd Nuwaytū	– al-Kannāsiyya al-Aḥmadiyya
Ḥasan Muḥammad Shams al-Dīn	– al-Marāziqa al-Aḥmadiyya
Muḥammad Yūsuf al-Shinnāwī	– al-Shinnāwiyya al-Aḥmadiyya
Manṣūr Kurayyim	– al-'Arūsiyya al-Shādhiliyya
'Alī Abū 'l-Nūr al-Jirbī	– al-Idrīsiyya al-Shādhiliyya
'Abd al-Majīd Muḥammad al-Barmūnī	– al-Qāsimiyya al-Shādhiliyya
Muḥammad Abū 'l-Fatḥ al-Qāwuqajī	– al-Qāwuqajiyya al-Shādhiliyya

Muḥammad Muḥammad Mashīna	– al-Salāmiyya al-Shādhiliyya
Muḥammad Muḥammad Mas'ūd	– al-Qādiriyya al-Fāriḍiyya
'Alī Muḥammad al-Qādirī	– al-Qādiriyya al-Qāsimiyya
Muḥammad Abū 'l-'Alā' al-Ḥusaynī	– al-Shahāwiyya al-Burhāmiyya
Yūsuf al-Basyūnī al-Sharnūbī	– al-al-Sharnūbiyya al-Burhāmiyya
Muḥammad Ismā'īl Ḍayf	– al-Ḍayfiyya al-Khalwatiyya
Ibrāhīm al-Jamal	– al-Sammāniyya al-Khalwatiyya
Muḥammad 'Abd al-Ghanī al-Malawānī	– al-Bayyūmiyya al-Aḥmadiyya
'Alī Aḥmad al-Minūfī	– al-Manāyifa al-Aḥmadiyya
Ḥasan Muḥammad al-Shu'aybī	– al-Shu'aybiyya al-Aḥmadiyya
Maḥmūd 'Aṭā'	– al-Tasqiyāniyya al-Aḥmadiyya
Muḥammad Aḥmad al-'Afīfī	– al-'Afīfiyya al-Shādhiliyya
Ḥasan Muḥammad Yūsuf al-Marzūqī	– al-Madaniyya al-Shādhiliyya
Ḥamūda Muḥammad al-Khuḍarī	– al-Sa'diyya
al-Shaykh Darwīsh	– al-Ḥandūshiyya al-Shādhiliyya
Muḥammad Khalīl al-Tihāmī	– al-Tihāmiyya al-Shādhiliyya
'Abduh Muḥammad al-Khayyāṭī	– al-'Īsawiyya al-Shādhiliyya
Ḥasan Ḥasan Jād	– al-Salāmiyya al-Aḥmadiyya
Maḥmūd Ḥasan al-Junaydī	– al-Ḥalabiyya al-Aḥmadiyya
'Abd al-Samī' al-Suṭūḥī	– al-Suṭūḥiyya al-Shādhiliyya
Muḥammad 'Alī 'Āshūr	– al-Burhāmiyya
Muḥammad 'Uthmān Sirr al-Khatm	– al-Mīrghāniyya

i. *The political activities of Muḥammad Tawfīq al-Bakrī*

With regard to Muḥammad Tawfīq's abdication as *naqīb al-ashrāf* early in 1895, which has already been touched upon in the preceding section, where the implications for his authority and the *ṭarīqa* realm are discussed (see p. 162), he himself states in his *Bayt al-Ṣiddīq* that he renounced the office voluntarily when it appeared to him that the khedive 'Abbās Ḥilmī suspected political motives behind his proposal to the *Majlis Shūrā al-Qawānīn* that one thousand pounds of the State budget should be reserved annually for al-Azhar as a contribution to the salaries of its scholars.[234] From other accounts,

[234] *B.S.*, 16.

however, it appears that the khedive had ordered Muḥammad Tawfīq al-Bakrī to abdicate[235] and that it was therefore certainly not a voluntary action. Moreover, the proposal itself was accepted and accomplished in its entirety, apparently without any objections from the khedive, shortly afterwards.[236] In view of this it would seem unlikely that the "political motives" of which the khedive suspected Tawfīq were anything more than the suspicion that he had made the proposal to enhance his position by gaining a reputation as the patron of the financial interests of the scholars attached to al-Azhar. Therefore, the suggestion that the deposition of al-Bakrī as *naqīb* was a rather arbitrary act of the khedive, inspired by his wish to curb al-Bakrī's aspiration to political significance, which is put forward by Muḥammad Tawfīq al-Bakrī's biographer, Māhir Ḥasan Fahmī,[237] would seem acceptable. It would also seem that the inclusion of restrictions upon al-Bakrī's authority in the Regulations of 1895 was, if not directly animated by, at least in accordance with, the khedive's wishes.

The lack of any indication of protest by Muḥammad Tawfīq against the deposition, suggests that he had accepted the khedive's inimical act with apparent ease. This is not surprising in view of the contents of the regulations for the *niqābat al-ashrāf*, of which promulgation was pending at the time.[238] These made the incumbent of the office virtually an official within the *Dīwān al-Awqāf* and subordinate to its *nāẓir*. Moreover, the financial rewards of the office would not be attractive since its incumbent was obliged to submit to the *Dīwān*, after expenses, any surplus of revenues accruing to him out of his management of the *awqāf al-ashrāf*.[239] The first *naqīb* who

[235] Cf. Shafīq, ii/1, 214; Aḥmad Taymūr, *Tarājim A'yān al-Qarn al-Thālith 'Ashar wa Awā'il al-Rābi' 'Ashar*, Cairo 1940, 82.

[236] Cf. Zakhūrā, i, 224. The amount was not regarded as sufficient, however, to alleviate the destitute circumstances under which many Azharī scholars were living; cf. Muḥammad al-Ẓawāhirī, *Al-'Ilm wa al-'Ulamā' wa Niẓām al-Ta'līm*, Ṭanṭā 1904, 82, 302ff.

[237] Fahmī, 92ff.

[238] It was promulgated in June 13 1895, see *Al-Waqā'i' al-Miṣriyya*, no. 67 (17 June 1895), 1424, and F.Or.A. 384-I/5 (3 Muḥ. 1313). For a French translation see *R.E.I.* (1929), 327f.

[239] In the past the yearly balance of revenues and expenses made up by the *naqīb* had been a source of recurrent conflict; see e.g. DWQ, *maḥfaẓa* 15 (Ma'iyya Turkī); p. 77, *mus.* 117 (19 Muḥ. 1274).

In Egypt as well as elsewhere in the Ottoman Empire, the *naqīb al-ashrāf* used to send an annual gift to the *naqīb* in Istanbul, to whom he had already paid a premium upon his appointment; cf. Gibb & Bowen, i/2, 100. In 1289 (1872) this gift, made by

became subject to the new Regulations was ʿAlī Muḥammad al-Biblāwi,[240] a former *khaṭīb* and *shaykh* of al-Ḥusayn mosque, who assumed office about two months after the abdication of Muḥammad Tawfīq.

This event marked the beginning of a period in which the relationship between al-Bakrī and the khedive grew progressively worse when the khedive sought to mobilize Ottoman support in his attempts to assert his position over Lord Cromer, the British proconsul.[241] Any strengthening of the ties between Egypt and the Porte, however, was totally unacceptable to al-Bakrī, since it ran counter to the unadulterated Egyptian nationalism he advocated.[242] He had therefore shown himself aggressively antagonistic towards the khedive's policy, and would have faced legal prosecution for lese-majesty on at least one occasion but for Cromer's intervention.[243] Cromer probably acted in order to prevent the setting aside of a religious dignitary whose public expression of pronounced anti-khedivial sentiments[244] played well into his hands in the power-struggle he carried on with the khedive. For Muḥammad Tawfīq the result of Cromer's intervention was to force him into the uncomfortable position of being one of Cromer's protégés which, in view of the nationalism he adhered to, can hardly have been desirable.

At the beginning of the twentieth century the khedive changed his policy and turned towards the Egyptian nationalists in his

ʿAlī al-Bakrī, consisted of 40 *majīdī*s; cf. F.Or.A. 284, II-24/1 (10 Shaʿbān 1289). When this practice was discontinued is not apparent from the documents in the Leiden collection or from any of the documents in the private possession of members of the Bakrī family in Cairo, that I have consulted.

[240] For biographies, see Taymūr, 81ff., and al-Biblāwī, 57ff.

[241] See e.g. Fahmī, 91, and Afaf Lutfī al-Sayyid [Marsot], *Egypt and Cromer. A study in Anglo-Egyptian Relations*, London 1968, 118f.

[242] Cf. Fahmī, chapter 7, *passim*.

[243] He was accused of having been the co-author, together with Muṣṭafā Luṭfī al-Manfalūṭī, of a *qaṣīda* slandering the khedive, which was published in *Al-Ṣāʿiqa*. Owing to Cromer's intervention, a British public prosecutor was appointed for the case, and he acquitted al-Bakrī. The editor of *Al-Ṣāʿiqa*, Aḥmad Fuʾād, however, and al-Manfalūṭī, were sentenced to imprisonment and fines; cf. Shafīq, ii/1, 248f.; and Muḥammad Ḥusayn, *Al-Ittijāhat al-Waṭaniyya fī ʾl-Adab al-Muʿāṣir*, ii vols., Cairo 1954-6, i, 94. According to the well-known Egyptian writer Maḥmūd al-ʿAqqād, there is no doubt that the *qaṣīda* was written by al-Bakrī alone; cf. Fahmī, 96.

[244] Fahmī, chapter 8, *passim*. The same anti-khedivial sentiments must have induced him to inform Cromer occasionally about the decisions of the *Majlis Shūrā al-Qawānīn* (Legislative Council), which were meant to be secret; cf. [Marsot], *Egypt and Cromer*, 119.

effort to achieve freedom from British overlordship.[245] This led to a considerable improvement in the relations between al-Bakrī and the khedive[246] who again installed al-Bakrī as *naqīb al-ashrāf* in succession to ʿAlī al-Biblāwī when the latter was appointed *shaykh al-Azhar* in early 1903.[247] To al-Bakrī, the only attraction which remained in the office of *naqīb* must have been the prestige and the salary attached to it, since he voluntarily ceded his rights of administering the *awqāf al-ashrāf* and of distributing the revenue, to the *Dīwān* which he would have served otherwise merely as an official.[248]

Concomitant to and as the result of the *rapprochement* between the khedive ʿAbbās Ḥilmī and al-Bakrī, the latter gradually became more implicated in the khedive's policy, notably in his efforts aimed at the deposition of the *muftī* of Egypt, Muḥammad ʿAbduh, who was a protégé of Cromer's,[249] when the khedive called upon him to mediate on various occasions.[250]

In addition to acting as a mediator, he presented himself politically as an advocate of parliamentary government for which he campaigned, not only inside the Legislative Council but also outside through the medium of the press.[251] This was particularly the case after he had presented his demands for political reform in an open letter, which was published in the nationalistic daily *Al-Muʾayyad* in April 1906, to the Prince of Wales (later George V) who was visiting Egypt at that time.[252] It caused considerable agitation[253] and gave al-Bakrī if not political significance,[254] at least notoriety to which he also contributed

[245] Cf. Holt, *Egypt and the Fertile Crescent*, 222.

[246] Cf. Fahmī, 100.

[247] A mediatory rôle was played to this effect by ʿAlī Yūsuf; cf. Taymūr, 83; F.Or.A. 284, I-7/2 (16 Ḥijja 1320).

[248] F.Or.A. 285- II/35 (8 March 1903).

[249] See Shafīq, ii/2, 34ff., 95f.; Fahmī, 103ff.

[250] See e.g. Shafīq, ii/1, 348.

[251] See his 'Al-Ḥukūma al-Shūraniyya' in *Al-Muqtaṭaf*, xxxii (1907), 992-998, and his interview given to the daily *Al-Liwāʾ*, reproduced in Fahmī, 77ff. For an extensive discussion of Muḥammad Tawfīq al-Bakrī as a publicist and as a literator see Fahmī, 119ff. For the short-lived predecessor of the Academy of the Arabic Language, which was established by him in 1892, see Fahmī, chapter 6.

[252] Shafīq, ii/2, 93f.; *B.S.*, 25f.

[253] Cf. Shafīq, ii/2, 94.

[254] Cromer in his *Modern Egypt*, ii, 177, states that Muḥammad Tawfīq sank into political insignificance soon after he had succeeded his deceased brother. This contention is not confirmed by the references made by Aḥmad Shafīq in his *Mudhakkirātī* to the rôle al-Bakrī played in various political events of the day. It is not clear what may have moved Cromer to reduce al-Bakrī's stature to these proportions, but it can be

by his activities in support of the pan-Islamic movement.[255] From 1907 onwards, however, relations between al-Bakrī and the khedive became strained again when Eldon Gorst, who had succeeded Cromer as proconsul at the beginning of that year, managed to win the khedive away from the nationalists with whom he had been working just before Cromer's resignation, and obtained his support for British policies.[256] This caused the relationship between al-Bakrī and the khedive to deteriorate[257] into one of mutual distrust and hostility, which must have contributed to the severe paranoia that forced al-Bakrī to abdicate all his offices at the end of 1911.[258]

interpreted as an intentional effort to belittle him, possibly as an expression of the repulsion Cromer may have felt for the megalomanic nature of al-Bakrī.

[255] He presided over the preliminary meetings for the foundation of the Universal Islamic Congress (*Al-Mu'tamar al-Islāmī al-'Āmm*), proposed by Ismā'īl Gasprinsky (see Z. V. Togan, 'Gasparli (Gasprinsky), Ismā'īl', *E.I.*^{2}, ii, 979ff.), and held in his palace in al-Ḥurunfish in Cairo at the end of 1907; see Fahmī, 83f.; and *R.M.M.*, iv (1908), 103ff.

Notwithstanding his publicly professed nationalism and the great admiration he showed for Muṣṭafā Kāmil (cf. Fahmī, 80), Muḥammad Tawfīq does not seem to have committed himself to the National Party (*Al-Ḥizb al-Waṭanī*) founded by the former in 1907. Nor did he involve himself with any of the other parties founded in the three or four years before his abdication. If he had not been affected by mental disorder and had still remained in office, he might well have become actively involved in the petty party-politics so characteristic of Egyptian political life in the following decades.

[256] Tignor, 296, and Yūnān Labīb Rizq, *Al-Ḥayāt al-Ḥizbiyya fī Miṣr fī 'Ahd al-Iḥtilāl al-Barīṭānī, 1882-1914*, Cairo 1970, 193ff. Fahmī in his biography of Muḥammad Tawfīq states that the latter expressed basically socialist ideas and presumes that this must have been one of the most pre-eminent reasons for the strained relationships between al-Bakrī and the khedive. This interpretation seems too tendentious to need any further comment.

[257] A manifestation of the deterioration in their relationships was the interview al-Bakrī granted to the daily *Al-Liwā'*, in which he criticised the khedive's view that the precondition for the granting of a constitution was maturity of the nation; cf. Fahmī, 77ff., where this interview is reproduced. See also Fahmī, 106f.

[258] He abdicated concomitantly as member of the Legislative Council and the General Assembly; see Fahmī, 111f., Shafīq ii/2, 184f. Shafīq refers to al-Bakrī's illness in his discussion of the events of the year 1909 and implies that al-Bakrī left Egypt for the asylum "al-'Uṣfūriyya" in Beirut in that very same year (cf. Shafīq, ii/2, 184f.). Fahmī, however, who states that he owes his information about Muḥammad Tawfīq's abdication to members of the Bakrī family consulted by him in the early sixties, gives 1912 as the year of his abdication and departure for the Lebanon. (He returned to Egypt in 1928 and died in Cairo in August 1932). In my paper 'Al-mashāyikh al-Bakriyya and the transformation of their authority in 19th century Egypt' I gave 1912 as the year in which Muḥammad Tawfīq al-Bakrī abdicated, following Fahmī. After this paper had gone to the press, however, I was informed by Muḥammad Wafā al-Bakrī the son of Muḥammad Tawfīq's successor 'Abd al-Ḥamīd al-Bakrī (d. 1940), in a private letter that the dates given by Shafīq as well as by Fahmī are incorrect, since his father took office in early 1911. This contention is confirmed by the fact



VI. Muḥammad Tawfīq al-Bakrī towards the end of his life.

j. *Summary*

With the promulgation of the Regulations for the Ṣūfī Orders by khedivial decree in 1895, a new and distinct era started for institutionalized Islamic mysticism in Egypt. They abrogated all that was contained in the circular drawn up by ʿAbd al-Bāqī in 1881, transformed the authority position held by the *shaykh al-sajjāda al-Bakriyya* over the *ṭuruq* from an authority position legitimated by tradition into one of the rational-legal type and provided it with a new legal base, which made it possible for Muḥammad Tawfīq al-Bakrī to regain the authority over the *ṭuruq* and *ṭuruq*-linked institutions which had gradually declined under his predecessor. A revised version of these Regulations was promulgated in 1903. It contained a number of amendments which had been desired by Muḥammad Tawfīq, strengthening his position in various ways, as well as provisions which brought its contents in line with *awqāf* reforms implemented in that same year, excluding *takāyā*, *zawāyā* and shrines supported by *awqāf* from any source, from the jurisdiction of the *shaykh mashāyikh al-ṭuruq al-ṣūfiyya*. These amended Regulations, however, proved to be an insufficient basis for effective administration of the rudimentary bureaucratic system they created and induced Muḥammad Tawfīq to draw up a set of supplementary rules, the so-called Internal Regulations for the *Ṭuruq*, which came into force in 1905. By these

that ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd is referred to as *shaykh al-mashāyikh* in the text of the resolution of the Ṣūfī Council by which al-Ghunaymiyya al-Khalwatiyya was recognized as an official *ṭarīqa*, dated 29 Jumādā I 1329 (28 June 1911), published in Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Munʿim Khafājī, *Al-Ṣūfī al-Mujaddid al-Sayyid Muḥammad al-Ghunaymī al-Taftāzānī*, Cairo 1951, 53f. Al-Ghunaymiyya had originally been a sub-section (*bayt*) within al-Rifāʿiyya. Since it did not become truly schismatic until the end of the first decade of the 20th century it is not dealt with in the present study.

ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-Bakrī, the son of Muḥammad Tawfīq's brother ʿAbd al-Bāqī, was also *shaykh al-sajjāda al-Wafāʾiyya* from 20 May 1906 when he succeeded his father-in-law, Aḥmad ʿAbd al-Khāliq al-Sādāt (see Zakhūrā, i, 185ff. for a biography), who had died in the same year without male issue (cf. *B.S.*, 136f.). The appointment of ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd as *shaykh al-sajjāda al-Bakriyya* in succession to Muḥammad Tawfīq in early 1911 contravened the *lāʾiḥa al-dākhiliyya* (2nd section art. 2), which prohibited appointment of a single *shaykh* as head of two *ṭarīqa*s. This explains why he abdicated as *shaykh al-sajjāda al-Wafāʾiyya* in early 1912. He was succeeded on 6 March 1912 by ʿAlī Yūsuf, another son-in-law of Aḥmad ʿAbd al-Khāliq al-Sādāt, who held the office until his death on 25 October 1913; cf. ʿAbd al-Laṭīf Ḥamza, *Adab al-Maqāla al-Ṣuḥufiyya fī Miṣr*, Cairo 1951, iv, 62ff. For additional biographical information about ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, see the article in *Al-Zuhūr*, iii/4 (June 1912), 203-7, under the title 'Naqīb al-Ashrāf wa Shaykh Mashāyikh al-Ṭuruq Samāḥat al-Sayyid ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-Bakrī'.

Regulations the principle of right of *qadam*, which had become entirely redundant by the end of the nineteenth century, was formally abolished. In conjunction with the regulations of 1903, the Internal Regulations guaranteed the office of *shaykh mashāyikh al-ṭuruq al-ṣūfiyya* an unprecedented high degree of specificity and autonomy of the authority allotted to it, while they gave a self-sufficiency and distinctiveness to the *ṭuruq* administration in its totality, unmatched at any previous stage. The Internal Regulations, together with the regulations of 1903, were to be the constitution for the *ṭuruq* establishment until 1976.

EPILOGUE

The distinctive administrative arrangements structuring the organization of Islamic mysticism in Egypt for most of the 19th century, make this period stand out as unique in the history of the *ṭuruq* and *ṭuruq*-linked institutions in that country. This period can be characterized most meaningfully as "the age of *qadam*", thus referring to the principle which had become pivotal to this organization in the first decades of the 19th century and around which the administration of the *ṭuruq* and *ṭuruq*-linked institutions continued to revolve until the 1890's when this principle became redundant.

The official abolition of the principle of *qadam* in 1905 marked the beginning of a new era for the *ṭuruq* in Egypt. This new era — in which the *ṭuruq* would be subject to the two sets of regulations which were the outcome of a process of administrative decline in consequence of inadequate maintenance of rights of *qadam*, and which was to last until 1976 when these regulations were abolished and replaced by new ones[1] — and the era preceding the era of *qadam*, could be referred to most conveniently as the "post-*qadam* era" and the "pre-*qadam* era". Such a tentative periodization[2] is not intended to provide a typological division but is only proposed as a temporal framework for historical sequences, i.e. for areas of continuity which are discontinuous from those which preceded or succeeded them but which may be defined in relation to one another, according to the presence or absence of the principle of right of *qadam* and other characteristics. These characteristics, which need to be determined in the course of further study, will allow for a comparative analysis of the various organizational and structural aspects of Islamic mysticism in these distinct eras. This would enable us to discern the configuration of the *ṭuruq* realm as part of the configuration of the wider society and to attempt to follow the development of both in conjunction with each other, which might thus allow for the more precise location of the transitional period between the pre-*qadam* era and the era of *qadam* than is feasible at present.

[1] Cf. *Al-Muslim*, xxvii/3 (Cairo, September 1976), 26ff.

[2] On the problem of periodization, see the relevant chapter in G. Leff, *History and Social Theory*, New York 1971, which has been the principal source of inspiration for the following considerations.

Research conducted along these lines is bound to confirm or to disprove the hypothesis which is implicit to my conjectures about the meaning of the term *arbāb al-sajājīd* (see p. 13), and the observations on the decline of the guilds and the increased prominence of the *ṭuruq* (see p. 68 f.). I should like to present this hypothesis more explicitly as follows: the apogee of the *ṭuruq* in Egypt, in terms of social significance, the number of people involved and the functions performed, was not in the 18th century, as is the prevalent view,[3] but in the 19th, coinciding with and in consequence of the decline of the guilds which had been the pre-eminent form of social organization in the pre-*qadam* era.

In addition, the era of *qadam* itself could be subject to more detailed research which would seem to be most promising if conducted as prosopography, i.e. by means of the historical approach that identifies and relates a group of persons within a particular historical context (institution).[4] In the specific case of the *ṭuruq* and *ṭuruq*-linked institutions, this approach might consist of a close biographical analysis of the élites that were in control of these organizations in order to arrive at a better understanding of the way in which each of these organizations functioned as entities in themselves. This prosopographical approach could centre first of all upon the Bakrī family with the aim of producing a more detailed history of this family than has been presented in the course of this study. Secondly, it could concentrate upon each of the families to which the heads of the *ṭuruq* and *ṭuruq*-linked institutions belonged. To this type of study the numerous names and additional details mentioned in this book can serve as equally numerous leads towards the relevant documents in Cairene archival collections.

This prosopographical approach should also allow for a fuller understanding of the basis of authority of each of the individual heads, which has chiefly been analysed in relation to the authority of the *shaykh al-sajjāda al-Bakriyya* and not so much as an independent variable affecting the growth, decline and status of the *ṭuruq* and *ṭuruq*-linked institutions over which this authority was exercised. Here, the limitations of our scope of analysis are owing to the limitations set by the amount of source material available for consultation in the Egyptian archives and could consequently be improved upon.

[3] See e.g. Heyworth-Dunne, 10; and also Gibb & Bowen, i, 76; and Raymond, *Artisans*, 434.

[4] On this approach, see A. Toynbee, *A Study of History*, Vol. xii, *Reconsiderations*, London 1961; 118, 121-4.

In conjunction with the analysis of authority as an independent variable affecting the status, the growth and the decline of the *ṭuruq*, the significance of "the Way", i.e. of each *ṭarīqa*'s teaching, religious practice and material culture, for its rise and decline might be assessed. Such an assessment, however, requires knowledge of the social background of a *ṭarīqa*'s membership. This in its turn presupposes detailed knowledge of the social stratification of Egyptian society in order to provide for a valid explanation of the interaction of socio-economic variables and aspects of "*ṭarīqa*-culture" affecting a *ṭarīqa*'s growth or decline. As yet, however, this knowledge is deplorably inadequate, and so it has only been possible to offer structural explanations for these phenomena, without going more deeply into matters pertaining to "the Way" than was required for the explanation of matters pertaining to the organization of the *ṭuruq*-realm. This realm might be studied in relation to the content of the various "Ways" once the fore-mentioned gaps in our knowledge are filled at some time in the future.

APPENDIX I*

Translation of the firmān issued by Muḥammad ʿAlī, viceroy of Egypt, investing Muḥammad Efendī al-Bakrī with authority over the ṭuruq and ṭuruq-linked institutions[1]

The noble edict,[2] the acceptance (and) honouring and observance of which is obligatory, has been issued in writing from the *Dīwān* of Cairo[3] the Protected by God, to our lord the supreme master, the possessor of merit and pride, his majesty *al-sayyid* Muḥammad Wafā Abī 'l-Anwār al-Sādāt,[4] may his eminency last forever; (and) to the glory of the venerable nobles, Aḥmad Efendī,[5] may his eminency increase; (and) to our magnanimous lord, the most erudite of mankind, his majesty the *shaykh* Muḥammad al-Shanawānī, *shaykh* of al-Azhar mosque; (and) to our lords the masters, the outstanding *ʿulamāʾ* in al-Azhar Mosque; and to all the heads of the praiseworthy *ṭuruq* and their numerous members[6] in Cairo the Protected by God, informing them that the glory of the masters, the nobles (*al-ashrāf*) and of those in charge of the splendid *sajājīd*, *al-sayyid* Muḥammad Efendī al-Bakrī al-Ṣiddīqī, grandson of the family of al-Ḥasan, may his eminency increase, has been appointed to the *mashyakha* and to accession to the *sajjāda* of his forebears the masters of al-Bakriyya and to hold authority over (*fī 'l-takallum ʿalā*) the mystical associations (*ṭawāʾif al-fuqarāʾ al-ṣūfiyya*) and over the (remaining) *takāyā* (and) *zawāyā* and shrines succeeding his father, the deceased *sayyid*

* Words between round brackets stand in the Arabic original; occasionally an Arabic equivalent is given between round brackets as well. Words between square brackets have been added to convey more accurate meaning.

[1] Translated from the text published in *B.S.*, 377, together with consultation of a photocopy of the original document (F.Or.A. 284, II/3).

[2] In the Arabic text the term *al-marsūm al-sharīf* is used instead of *al-firmān al-sharīf*. In Egypt *firmān* and *marsūm* were used as equivalent terms; cf. Deny, 146.

[3] This was the *Dīwān* of the viceroy. After 1253 (1837) it was known as *dīvān-i khedīvi* or *dīvān-i mulkiye-i Miṣr*. Concerning this and other *dawāwīn* existant at that time, see Deny, 104ff.

[4] Cf. chapter I, note 76.

[5] Reference is to Aḥmad Abū 'l-Iqbāl (1228-1273), the nephew of Muḥammad Wafā b. Abī 'l-Sādāt and his successor as *shaykh al-sajjāda al-Wafāʾiyya*; cf. page 31.

[6] For my translation of *arbāb al-ashāyir al-ʿadīda*; cf. chapter I, note 8.

Muḥammad al-Bakrī. By virtue of the legal decision given to him he has been given power in the *mashyakha* mentioned according to the custom of his ancestors Banū al-Ṣiddīq, and that which pertains to them and [to take] decisions of government among the *fuqarāʾ* [i.e. the members of the *ṭuruq*] in accordance with their ancient laws, their lasting customs and with regard to their proper rules. Accordingly, we issue this noble edict from the *Dīwān* of Cairo the Protected by God, by His benevolence (that He may be exalted), in order that action will be in accordance with its purport and exigency. Upon the noble hand and the magnificent seal reliance can be placed.[7]

27 Shawwāl 1227
Muḥammad ʿAlī
(seal)

[7] This line appears only in the original document and not in the text published in *B.S.*

APPENDIX II

Translation of the maḥḍar setting out the demarcation of the areas of authority of the shaykh al-sajjāda al-Bakriyya, Muḥammad Efendī al-Bakrī, and the shaykh al-Azhar, Ibrāhīm al-Bayjūrī[1]

In the name of God the Merciful, the Compassionate. Thanks be to God the Lord of the Worlds and blessing and peace be upon the Lord of the Messengers. On a blessed Sunday corresponding to 19 Sha'bān of the year 1263, (twelve hundred and sixty-three), the *shaykh al-Islām* and the most erudite of mankind, the *shaykh* Ibrāhīm al-Bayjūrī; and his majesty, pride of the *'ulamā'*, *shaykh al-Mālikiyya*, Muḥammad Ḥabashī; his majesty, the cave and shelter, the most erudite *shaykh* Muḥammad al-Tamīmī al-Maghribī; the right honourable master, the upholder and eminent one, the *shaykh* 'Uthmān al-Sādī; the learned, most erudite *shaykh* 'Alī Khalīfa; and his majesty the eminent *shaykh* Aḥmad Minnā, did attend the council of the supreme master *al-sayyid* al-Bakrī, the present *naqīb al-ashrāf*, many his eminency last for ever.

Agreement has been reached between all of these and his majesty the *shaykh* Ibrāhīm al-Bayjūrī mentioned [above], before the reading of the noble *firmān* of his appointment over al-Azhar Mosque, that he is in the best condition and [having] the most perfect (quality) of the perfections, which are required by the appearance [i.e. dignity] of the position of *shaykh al-Azhar* in conformity with the position of the forebears (*al-salaf*), and that it will be in conformity with the principles well-known to all, consistent with all dispositions, praiseworthy in their own right, and [because of] the emanation of mildness [from them], and without obstruction to the affairs which do not come under the competencies of al-Azhar Mosque, like those pertaining to the *zawāyā* and the *fuqarā'* (i.e. the members of the *ṭuruq*), who are under the jurisdiction of his excellency *al-sayyid* al-Bakrī, such as the Qur'ān reading in the *zawāyā*, the *mashyakhat al-maqārī'*[2] and the offices of intendants of shrines (*khilāfat al-aḍriḥa*), like [that of] *al-sayyid* al-Badawī, and the heads of the *takāyā*, the

[1] Translated from the text published in *B.S.*, 42-44. See chapter I, note 175.

[2] I.e. the supreme authority position in the corporation of Qur'ān-readers.

shrines and the *ṭuruq*. He has no right to intervene in any of these. If a case is presented to him which has to do with that which is under the jurisdiction of His Excellency *al-sayyid* al-Bakrī, like the descendants of the Prophet and the heads of the *ṭuruq*, he has to transfer it to their above-mentioned judge, the arbiter according to the forementioned principles. (The) ordinance in important matters has to be in consultation with all the principals of al-Azhar (*ru'asā' al-Azhar*) and in cases pertaining to the students (*al-mujāwirūn*), these will be transferred to the *mashāyikh* of their hostels (*arwiqa*) and if (their) settlement permits these [cases] will be transferred to his Majesty the *shaykh al-Mālikiyya* when he is a Mālikī or to the *shaykh al-Ḥanafiyya* if he is a Ḥanafī or with the [Shāfi'ī] one if he is a Shāfi'ī, according to the principles decreed by the *Dīwān*[3] and registered herewith, so that everybody will be at ease, since no one will trespass [upon] another. He has to give [careful] consideration to what is connected with the interests of the Mosque and with *al-mishaddūn*[4] and the soldiers, the servants of the students (*al-mujāwirūn*). No one of them will remain unless he is fit for this respectable service, as is required by the dignity of the supervising authority, so that none but people of perfection, knowledge and piety will approach his majesty; since a man is known by his companions.

By this [deed] is submitted the statement which had come from those mentioned concerning his Excellency [Ibrāhīm al-Bayjūrī] to his Excellency the Deputy Viceroy of Egypt, may his glory last (for ever). They have testified about what they make known in it concerning the perfections of knowledge, righteousness, piety and maturity, and his Excellency the *shaykh* mentioned has obliged himself to do all that has been mentioned, demanding that what they testified about will last and ratifying what they said about him in his absence. Therefore the sovereign speedily granted the request when they asked, and he is also aware of the condition of the master mentioned [i.e. al-Bayjūrī]. We ask God to perpetuate [his state] and [let it become] better (more) and we ask from Him, the praised one, success for him and all [of us] by the blessing of our lord Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīq and our lord al-Imām al-Shāfi'ī and [all] those belonging to the house of the Prophet (altogether).

[3] I.e. by the khedivial *Dīwān*; cf. appendix I, note 3.

[4] I.e. those responsible for order and discipline in its widest sense. *Mishaddūn* were also officials attached to an *iltizām* — their task, however, was of an entirely different nature; cf. Ibrāhīm Zakī; *Al-Ḥāla al-Māliyya wa 'l-Taṭawwur al-Ḥukūmī* wa *'l-Ijtimā'ī fī 'Ahday al-Ḥamla al-Firansiyya wa Muḥammad 'Alī*, Cairo n.d., 102f.; and Rivlin, 28f.

APPENDIX III*

'Translation of a circular issued by the Shaykh al-Bakrī to all the Chiefs of the religious sects'

In order to approach God one must be pious and refrain from all wordly commitments to evil. This can be attained by conforming strictly to the precepts of our religious Laws and condemning innovations. Having this in view and desirous of avoiding everything that might bring our religion into ridicule, we have issued this circular to the different religious sects praying Almighty God to lead us all to the right path.

Art. 1

It is necessary that the "Zikrs"[1] be performed with due reverence, respect, and quietness as becomes the presence of Almighty God and to refrain from bad behaviour and everything contrary to religion such as joking, indecent words and the like; and in short, "zikrs" must be restricted to the praise of God. And all innovations[2] in fairs,[3] processions etc. are hereby abolished.[4]

Art. 2

It is strictly prohibited to hold fairs and ceremonies in the towns and villages without special permission from the Chief Sheikh[5]

* The transcript of this Crown-copyright record in the Public Record Office, London (F.O. 78/3321; 9 February 1881), appears by permission of the Controller of H.M. Stationery Office.

[1] The terms *dhikr* (spelled as *zikr* in this document) and *ḥaḍra* are often employed as synonyms in colloquial usage — then as well as today. Strictly speaking, however, the term *dhikr* applies only to the continuous repetition of some of the names of God in different tempi and often with movements of the head and upper body. The *dhikr* proper is generally preceded by the communal reading in a loud voice of the office (*ḥizb*) and prayers. The whole ritual is called *ḥaḍra*. This distinction is adopted in this study.

[2] The word *bida'* must have been used in the original Arabic text.

[3] I.e. *mawālid*.

[4] The articles following contain explicit restrictions upon the various practices on these occasions which were considered as *bida'* committed by those belonging to the *ṭuruq*. This makes it likely that article 1 was aimed at different kinds of innovations, which were in no way part of their performances, like e.g. the mock copulation by "'Alī Kākā", described by Aḥmad Shafīq, i, 78. For general remarks about the rôle of 'Alī Kākā in Egyptian folklore, cf. Amīn, 288.

[5] I.e. the *shaykh al-sajjāda al-Bakriyya*.

or from his Deputy who will grant the necessary permit should there be a precedent to such fair or ceremony provided always that it be conducted in a decent manner and only for the recital of the Koran and prayers.

Art. 3

The use of the sword,[6] the eating of live coal, serpents, glass, the striking of oneself with cannon-balls and the like[7] in public processions or fairs are hereby strictly prohibited.

Art. 4

The carrying of banners must only be entrusted to full-grown men belonging to one of the sects and not to boys as heretofore.

Art. 5

The beating of drums in processions etc. whether at night or in the day is prohibited, except inside the "Tikiyas" (*sic*) and only on the nights of the anniversary of certain Sheikhs.[8]

Art. 6

No religious assemblies are to take place in the public thoroughfares but inside the houses of Sheikhs and their deputies[9] and to be conducted with due reverence and respect.

Art. 7

In fairs only the prayer to God and to the Prophet are to be recited as is the case in Cairo in the fair of the Prophet.

Art. 8

No fairs or ceremonies are to be held in disreputable places either at night or in the day and no prayers are to be recited therein.

Art. 9

No Sheikh of one of the sects or his deputy is allowed to take away from any Kalifa, any banners, drums, tents or lamps made by him.[10] Also no such Kalifa is allowed to hire out or pawn such things but to be only used by the sect to which he belongs.

[6] The Arabic must have been "*ḍarb al-silāḥ*"; cf. chapter II, note 316.

[7] Reference could be to the practice of beating oneself with bundles of wooden strips or sticks or with clubs covered with nails (*zarwata*), common among the members of al-Ḥandūshiyya; cf. Crapanzano, 201.

[8] I.e. on the so-called *layla al-kabīra*, the last light of a *mawlid*.

[9] I.e. *khulafā'* and *nuwwāb*.

[10] On these attributes see chapter I, note 8.

Art. 10

No fairs are to be held in honour of a living Sheikh[11] or in commemoration of a dead one unless it has been done before and only after obtaining permission to this effect from the Grand Sheikh or his deputy.

Art. 11

No Sheikh belonging to one of the sects has a right to suspend any of his deputies either in Cairo or in the villages before submitting to us the motives for such a suspension and only after the decision of the Tribunal[12] which may be convened to examine the case.

Art. 12

No Sheikh or any of his deputies is allowed to interfere in the affairs of another Sheikh.

Art. 13

No Sheikh or any of his deputies can lay a complaint respecting the affairs of his sect except before the General Sheikh or his deputies outside Cairo.

Art. 14

It is prohibited from granting to "Hemaliyyas" (water carriers) certificates from any of the sects, but the fact of their being initiated into the mysteries is sufficient.[13]

[11] In none of my sources did I come across any reference to this practice. The fact, however, that this explicit prohibition is included, suggests that it must have been not unusual.

[12] This must be the translation of *majlis al-qaḍiyya*, which, as appears from the Leiden documents, was the current term, and not of *maḥkama* as one is lightly led to suppose.

[13] According to Lane, 329, the "ḥemalees" were mostly members of al-Rifā'iyya and of al-Bayyūmiyya. In the early 1870's, the *shaykh al-ṭariqa al-Bayyūmiyya*, 'Abd al-Ghanī al-Malawānī, claimed the right to appoint one of his *nuwwāb* in Alexandria as *shaykh* of a guild of water-carriers in that city, presumably since the majority of the members of this guild were members of his *ṭarīqa*. His claims, however, were opposed by the authorities and by the *shaykh al-sajjāda al-Bakriyya* (cf. F.Or.A. 283, II-23/4 (3 Sha'bān 1289); II-26/1 (18 Sha'bān 1289)) who seems to have held a certain degree of autonomous jurisdiction over the *ḥimāliyya*; cf. 'Aḥkām', *Al-Jarīda al-Qaḍā'iyya*, 10. *Ḥimāliyya* were exempted from paying the *firda* (see chapter I, note 183), owing to what was perceived as the religious nature of their occupation; cf. A. Raymond, 'Les porteurs d'eau du Caire', *BIFAO*, lvii (1958), 198. It is likely that the connection between some of the guilds of water-carriers and some of the *ṭuruq* gave rise to a practice by which an *ijāzāt khilāfa* issued to a *ḥimālī* served as evidence of guild-membership and consequently allowed its bearer to claim the privilege of exemption from payment of the *firda*. Abolition of the *firda*-tax in 1872 had not put an end to the practice of water-carriers being provided with *ijāzāt* by reason of their occupation, as appears from article 14 of the Circular aiming at elimination of this custom which must have been considered potentially harmful to the *ṭuruq* realm, since it allowed unqualified persons to act as *khulafā'* in their own right.

Art. 15

No person belonging to one sect can leave it and be affiliated into another and the Sheikh to whom the application is made must first inquire that such a person has obtained his licence[14] and after taking the necessary oath to be entrusted with secrets of the new sect. But should it be proved afterwards that he is unworthy he should be expelled from both sects and no other sect must admit him.

Art. 16

The Kalifas must not parade the streets on the day of "Ashoura".[15]

Art. 17

All processions should be conducted with perfect order and only banners are allowed to be carried.

Art. 18

All "Zikrs" at fairs etc, are to be conducted with due reverence and respect and in the presence of a duly authorized Sheikh. No unauthorized Sheikh can conduct a "Zikr" and if he contravenes their injunction he shall be punished. Only prayers are to be recited but songs are prohibited.

Art. 19

The "Madaheen"[16] are from this day abolished from the cemeteries.

Art. 20

No grave-yard keeper is allowed to permit men and women to meet on the Fridays in cemeteries but must fix separate hours for each sex.[17]

[14] I.e. the *ijāza*.

[15] This used to be done with the intention of collecting alms; cf. Lane, 434.

[16] According to Baer, *Guilds*, 175, the term encompassed singers as well as story-tellers. S. Spiro, *An Arabic-English Vocabulary of the Colloquial Arabic of Egypt*, Cairo/London 1895, 559, gives a different meaning: *maddāḥ* (pl. *maddāḥin*), street beggar, who sings the praises of God.

[17] From this clause it appears that the grave-yard keeper (*turabī*) had a certain authority to restrict access to the cemeteries by one sex or the other. This aspect of social organization remains to be investigated, in conjunction with the whole "grave-yard" culture in Egypt, which has as yet not been the object of scholarly study to the degree it deserves.

Art. 21

No coffee shops are permitted to be established either in places of worship or in cemeteries.

Art. 22

All processions and ceremonies inaugurated within the last ten years are hereby abolished.

Art. 23

The "Dossehs" in all the fairs are from this day abolished.

Art. 24

No processions composed of the different sects are to take place either in circumcision or in marriage ceremonies.

Art. 25

No drums are to be beaten in "Zikrs" when women attend.[18]

Art. 26

The Zikrs performed by the "Shaziliyah" sect must be conducted on the same principle as other Zikrs.

Art. 27

It is necessary that fairs, ceremonies and processions must be performed in accordance with these rules.

Art. 28

All lunatics and those who let loose their hair on the plea that they are holy men, must be arrested by the police and sent either to a hospital or to a lunatic asylum.[19]

Art. 29

No Sheikh of any sect is allowed to initiate any beardless young man into the mysteries of the order, but only men with beards who are well acquainted with the precepts of their religion.

[18] I.e. on the occasions when this is allowed as stipulated in article 5.

[19] It is not known to what extent this was accomplished.

APPENDIX IV

Translation of the Regulations for the Ṭuruq (lā'iḥat al-ṭuruq al-ṣūfiyya) of 1895[1]

Art. 1

The appointment of the heads of the *ṭuruq*, their removal from their offices or their suspension for a definite period, the arbitration in their disputes, in particular [those] relative to the *ṭuruq* and (the) judgement about the complaints, (which are) directed towards them concerning this arbitration, will be with the knowledge of a special council formed in the manner described in the third article.

Art. 2

The deposition and the appointment of the *mashāyikh al-takāyā*, *al-sajājīd* and *al-aḍriḥa* to which no *ashāyir* belong, will be according to the stipulations made by the endower (*wāqif*). But with respect to those who have *ashāyir* and salaries from the *Dīwān al-Awqāf* or from another *nāẓir*, no deposition and no appointment will be made without approval from the *Dīwān al-Awqāf* or the other *nāẓir*, dependent upon the view of the Council, and if the *Dīwān* or the *nāẓir* do not agree with the Council's view, the *ashāyir* will be given to [one] whom the Council appoints and the salaries will (continue) [be paid] as usual.

Art. 3

The Council mentioned will be made of the chief (*ra'īs*) of the *mashāyikh* appointed by the khedive in the function of president, and four permanent members from the heads of the *ṭuruq*. They are [to be] elected by majority vote, by a general assembly attended by at least twenty *shaykh*s from among the heads of the *ṭuruq* resident in Cairo. Four deputies (to these) will also be elected according to the same rules. They will (be) [sit] in their place when [the former] are excused for not attending the Council. The elections will be in the *Dīwān* of the Governor of Cairo and presided over by his

[1] Translation from the Arabic text, published in *Al-Waqā'i' al-Miṣriyya*, no. 67 (17 June 1895), 1426.

Excellency the Governor. They will be held every three years and also, if it proves [to be] necessary, for the appointment [of a person] instead of him who resigns or dies.

Art. 4

If the president is prevented from coming, he must delegate one of the members to preside over Council.

Art. 5

The proceedings of the Council and its judgements will be in accordance with the rules (as) generally accepted (in) [by those belonging to] the *ṭuruq*, provided that they do not (exceed) [infringe] the judgements of the sacred law.

Art. 6

The Council will be convened once every month, unless there is no need for its assembly [to which effect] the president should submit a request [for postponement] to [the members of] the Council or [concerning which] a request should be submitted to the president by three members of the Council.

Art. 7

Any one of the members or the deputies who has been too late for four sessions a year without excuse is considered [as having] resigned and another [member] will be elected.

Art. 8

If one of the claimants litigates [with] one of the members [of the Council], the Council [is to] decree whether (he) [the member] will remain [in office] or be replaced by (somebody else from) [one of] the deputies [during the proceedings for this] (in the) case.

Art. 9

The hearing of cases in the Council will [follow the mode of] (be like their) hearings in the Shar'iyya Court (*majlis al-qaḍā' al-shar'ī*) and according to the sequence of receipt [of cases]. No (other) case will be submitted for examination unless [the] (its) termination [of the previous one] allows for it.

Art. 10

After the hearing of the case and its detailed presentation there will be (the) consultation between the members of the Council and [their] (its) verdict taken by majority vote will be issued by a decree certified by [them] (it). The president will be entrusted with its

implementation. When necessary (the) mediation [by] (from the side of) the government [officials] will take place in its implementation with consideration of what has been stipulated in article two.

Art. 11

The president [is to] regulate(s) the [proper] arrangement of the sessions.

Art. 12

The resolution of conflicts among (the) *khulafā'* or with (the) *murīdūn*, or among (the) *murīdūn*, will remain (of) the prerogative(s) of their *mashāyikh* (i.e. the heads of the *ṭuruq*).

Art. 13

Claims from members of the *ṭuruq* against [a] (one of the) head(s) (of the *ṭuruq*) are to be dealt with and settled [exclusively] with knowledge of the Council.

Art. 14

[With respect to] the present heads of the *ṭuruq* no elections will take place. They will remain in (their) office(s).

Art. 15

The provisions of this Regulation will come into force from the date of its publication in the governmental newspaper (*Al-Jarida al-Rasmiyya*).

Art. 16

The implementation of this Regulation rests with the Ministry of the Interior.

23 *Dhū 'l-Ḥijja* 1312/16 June 1895
For the Prime Minister, the Minister of War,
Muṣṭafā Fahmī.

APPENDIX V

Translation of the amended Regulations for the Ṭuruq (lā'iḥat al-ṭuruq al-ṣūfiyya) of 1903[1]

Art. 2

The removal of the *mashāyikh al-aḍriḥa*, *al-takāyā* and *al-sajājīd* and appointments made in their stead will be as follows:

Firstly: [For] the *takāyā* and the shrines which have no income and no salary, either from the *Dīwān al-Awqāf* or from the government, and [also for] the *sajājīd*, discharge and appointment (instead) will be with knowledge of the Council described in the third article.

Secondly: [For] the *takāyā* and the shrines, which have income or salary from the *Dīwān al-Awqāf* or from the government, whatever this income and salary may be, this [right] will be [exercised] in accordance with that which is stipulated in the regulations of the *Dīwān al-Awqāf* issued by khedivial decree on 13 July, 1895.

Thirdly: [For] the *takāyā* and the shrines which have legally appointed *nuẓẓār*, the appointment of a *shaykh* (to these) will [rest with] (be accordance with that which is stipulated in the regulations of the respect] made by an endower (*sharṭ wāqif*) is found, [appointment will be] in accordance with this provision.

Art. 3

The [fore-]mentioned Council will be made up of the *shaykh mashāyikh al-ṭuruq* appointed by the khedive, in [the] function of president, and four members from the *mashāyikh al-ṭuruq* elected by the president from among eight persons from the *mashāyikh al-ṭuruq* elected by a general assembly attended by at least twenty-five persons from among the *mashāyikh al-ṭuruq*, by majority vote.* (The elections

[1] Translation from the Arabic text published in *Al-Waqā'i' al-Miṣriyya*, no. 61 (3 June 1903), 997f. It was published together with the *lā'iḥa al-dākhiliyya* (see appendix VI) in 1905 (Cairo: Mṭ. al-Mu'ayyad) and again in 1342: 1923/4 (Cairo, no publisher mentioned). This text may also be found as an appendix to Shuhdī, *Aḥmad al-Ṣāwī*, and in the monthly *Al-Muslim*, iii (1953)/3-4, 23ff. In the present translation, articles identical to articles in the *lā'iḥa* of 1895 have been omitted.

* In October 1910 the following section was added here: If the prescribed number is not complete during the first session, the General Assembly will be postponed to another session of which the absent *mashāyikh* will be informed. [In] this second session the meeting of the Assembly will be valid as soon as at least 15 *shaykh*s attend it.

will be in the *Dīwān* of the Governor of Cairo and presided over by his Excellency the Governor).

For the rest this article is identical to article 3 of the *lā'iḥa* of 1895.

Art. 5

Addition: All decrees issued by [the Council] (it) forbidding something or permitting something, in conformity with the Law, will apply to everybody who designates himself as *ṣūfī* (*bi-'unwān al-ṣūfiyya*).

Art. 12

Absolutely no fees at all will be taken for (the) cases (which are) examined in front of the Ṣūfī Council, the agents (*wukalā'*) of the *mashyakhat* [*al-ṭuruq al-ṣūfiyya*, i.e. al-Bakrī] or the heads of the *ṭuruq*. Also, no fees will be taken for (the) appointments whatever their nature.

Art. 13

Conflicts involving [aspects] of *al-ṣūfiyya*, and which are between members of the same *ṭarīqa*, will be dealt with by the *shaykh* of [this] *ṭarīqa*. The opposing parties have the right of appeal to the Ṣūfī Council mentioned in the third article. As far as [conflicts] between members of different *ṭuruq* are concerned, (these) will be examined in front of the Ṣūfī Council if these have occurred in Cairo. If they have occurred in the provinces, they will be looked into by the deputies of the *mashyakha*. The opposing parties have the right of appeal to this Council.

Art. 14

The claims relative to *al-ṣūfiyya* by members of the *ṭuruq* against one of the *mashāyikh* will be dealt with and settled by the Council [exclusively].

5 Rabī' I 1321/1 June 1903
Muṣṭafā Fahmī

APPENDIX VI

Translation of the Internal Regulations for the Ṭuruq (al-lā'iḥa al-dākhiliyya li'l-ṭuruq al-ṣūfiyya) of 1905[1]

First section

Art. 1

The Council will meet in the headquarters of the *mashyakhat al-mashāyikh al-ṣūfiyya* every first Saturday of every Arabic month, except for holidays and festivals. More sessions may be convened if need be.

Art. 2

The following registers (*dafātir*) should be (kept) by the general *mashyakha*: one *daftar* [for registering] (in which are registered) the cases which are submitted in the course of a year [all consecutively] (case after case) with a number for every case — this number will be a reference[-number] to the case — and giving explicitly the date of its registration, the name and surname of the claimant and the defendant, the subject of the case, the date of the session (which has been) fixed for the hearing of the case and a summary of the judgement [given] or the decrees issued in [relation to] it,

one *daftar* for [copies of] outgoing correspondence,

one *daftar* for incoming correspondence,

one *daftar* for the registration of all *mashāyikh* of the *ṭuruq*, the shrines, the *takāyā*, the *zawāyā* and the like.

Art. 3

For every case a procès-verbal will be opened in a special dossier in which everything occurring in the course of the legal proceedings will be recorded with explicit mention of the date of (the convening of) every session, the name of its chairman and the members [who attend the session] (of whom the session consists), the number of the case, the names of the parties concerned, confirmation of [the] presence (of him who has been present) and (of) [the] absence (of him who has been absent) of members, the statements and requests of the parties concerned, the number of documents they submit, the statement[s] of witnesses, the decrees issued by [those in] (the) session, either about postponement of the legal proceedings to another session or [the] giving of a judgement (in it). Together with the decision of postponement should be [recorded] the clarification of the causes — whether the postponement of the session has been because of the need (of) [for] completion [i.e. to complete the investigations, and the gathering of further information relative to the case], or [has been requested] by one of the parties for acceptable reasons — followed by explicit mention of the date of the session to which the legal proceedings have been postponed.

[1] Translation from the Arabic text published in Cairo in 1342/1923-4; cf. appendix V, note 1. This edition has the heading *Lā'iḥat al-Ijrā'āt al-Dākhiliyya li'l-Ṭuruq al-Ṣūfiyya*. As appended to Shuhdī's biography of Aḥmad al-Ṣāwī the Regulations have the heading *Lā'iḥa al-Dākhiliyya li'l-Ṭuruq al-Ṣūfiyya*. See also chapter IV, note 137.

Art. 4

[It is the responsibility of] the secretary[2] to give the number of the case to the claimant if [indeed] the case has been raised by him [i.e. if it has not been raised by any of the members of the Council or its president] in a note (*qasīma*; lit.: a coupon) in which the date of the session [is mentioned] and moreover [records the name of the] (makes known the other) opposing party.

Art. 5

The papers which the opposing parties present to the *bāb al-mashyakha al-ṣūfiyya* as legal evidence, will be forwarded with two files of the same type, each one of the two signed by the person who submits it, and [there should be] clearly visible on every file the number of documents [it contains], their dates, and a [separate] registration of every document. After acceptance by the secretary of the documents presented [to him], he [will] sign(s) (on) one of the two files for acceptance and give(s) it to the person who presented the papers. The other file [will] be kept with the papers [pertaining to] (of) the case in a dossier [especially] allotted for it.

Art. 6

Consultation [between the members of the Council will] take(s) place after the defence has been completed, without [the] presence of either of the opposing parties.

[2] The first reference to the appointment of a secretary (*kātib bāb al-mashyakha*) is in F.Or.A., 285, II-55/7 (27 Aug. 1901).

Art. 7

The case will be [laid aside] (dropped) if the claimant comes too late to the session. He can reopen it later. If the defendant comes too late [once], the case will be postponed. If he comes too late for a second time, a deputy will be appointed for him and he will be judged in his [i.e. the deputy's] presence. The secretary to the session will inform him [i.e. the defendant] of the judgement. He has the right to protest against it before fifteen days have elapsed from the moment it was made known.

Art. 8

The (general) *mashyakha* [is to] invite(s) the members [of the Council] to the session in writing, three days before its meeting. If he [i.e. one of the members] has an excuse which prevents him from actually being present, he has [a duty] to inform the *mashyakha* 24 hours before the convening of the session.

Art. 9

Once the Ṣūfī Council has given judgement in a case it will not reconsider it.

Second section: Concerning the *mashāyikh al-ṭuruq*

Art. 1

Appointment of somebody as *shaykh* of a *ṭarīqa* is not permissible, unless he is [one] of those [with] knowledge and perfection.

Art. 2

No *shaykh* will be appointed (*shaykh* of) two *ṭarīqa*s.

Art. 3

The *mashāyikh al-ṭuruq* are independent from each other, every one of them with his *ṭarīqa*. None of them will be subordinate to another and to no single *ṭarīqa* will there be two *shaykh*s.

Art. 4

The official regulations and khedivial decrees issued July 3, 1903, restricted to the Ṣūfī Council the appointment of all of the *mashāyikh al-ṭuruq* in Egypt, whatever their nature. By this [the right] of any other agency to appoint any one of them has been abolished. From now onwards no one will be appointed, nor will he be recognized as *shaykh* unless this Council appointed him, regardless of whether he was [one] of the *mashāyikh al-sajājid* or the *mashāyikh* of the Khalwatiyya [*ṭuruq*] or the like.

Art. 5

New *ṭuruq* may be added [i.e. become officially recognized] when the new *ṭarīqa* does not resemble in its name and its terminology one of the *ṭuruq* [already] existing [i.e. officially recognized].

Art. 6

If a *ṭarīqa* comes to be without a *shaykh* [i.e. if the *shaykh* dies], his eldest son will take over [his office] (after him), and after him the eldest of his sons and so on, on the condition that he is of those with [sufficient] knowledge and not endowed with [qualities prohibiting] (what forbids) his appointment. If this is not the case, he who fulfils these conditions among his brothers or among his relatives will be appointed. If none of them fulfils it, the Ṣūfī Council will appoint to the vacancy [a person] who is competent for it. If [the deceased] (he) has left a son under age, (the latter) will be appointed to the *mashyakha* and an authorized representative will be nominated to [act for] him until he attains full legal age.

Art. 7

Every *shaykh* of a *ṭarīqa* should have four registers (*dafātir*), certified by the general *mashyakha*, as follows:

one *daftar* for [copies of] the outgoing correspondence,

one *daftar* for the incoming correspondence,

one *daftar* to list all the *nuwwāb* and the *khulafā'* of the *ṭarīqa* together with (the statement of) the date[s] of their investiture,

one *daftar* in which the judgements will be recorded, which have been given [by the *shaykh* in conflicts] between members of his *ṭarīqa*. When the *ṭarīqa* comes to be without a *shaykh* [i.e. when the *shaykh* dies], these registers will be handed over to the *bāb al-mashyakha*. Subsequently, after the appointment of a new *shaykh* (to it) they will be returned to him.

Art. 8

It is absolutely impermissible for the *shaykh* of the *ṭarīqa* to make [somebody] *khalīfa*, who does not have some [specialized] knowledge.

Art. 9

Every *shaykh* of a *ṭarīqa* has to appoint *khulafā'* in the [various] townships and villages from among those with knowledge, to guide the people, and a deputy (*nā'ib*) in every *markaz* where there are many of his *murīdūn*.

Art. 10

Every *shaykh* of a *ṭarīqa* has to make a round among his *khulafā'* in the course of the year, and to inspect what they do (their works) and the quality of the performance of the guidance they are entrusted with.

Art. 11

The *nuwwāb* of the *ṭuruq* in the [rural] districts are not to be addressed as *shaykh al-ṭarīqa* (in it; i.e. in the district), but as *nā'ib* exclusively.

Art. 12

A *shaykh* is not to issue an *ijāza* unless he finds somebody worthy of it. The *ijāzāt* must be printed and contain [a statement of] the [exact] meaning of the permission and of the rules according to which the *khalīfa* has to give guidance, without [irrelevant] insertions. It is not permissible for the *shaykh* to give to his *khulafā' ijāzāt* without any specific names on them, to be distributed to anyone desiring the *khilāfa* [i.e. to be a *khalīfa*].

Art. 13

It is not permissible for the *shaykh* of a *ṭarīqa* to make charges and yearly customary payments obligatory upon his *murīdūn* and his *khulafā'*. But he and his *khulafā'* may accept what is presented to them as donations, given of the free will of the donor, provided that this is not related to a case under their consideration or to the appointment of a *khalīfa*, since there are no fees [to be paid in such cases] (for that).

Third section: Concerning the agents (*wukalā'*) of *al-mashyakha*

Art. 1

To every administrative subdivision (*markaz*) of the provinces an agent of the *mashyakha* will be appointed from [among] the meritorious and the esteemed of this *markaz*. His title of address will not be *shaykh mashāyikh al-ṭuruq* in the region he resides in, but he will be addressed by the title *wakīl al-mashyakha* exclusively and he will be in direct contact with the *bāb al-mashyakha*. Upon his appointment notice will be given to the *mudīriyya* [i.e. the Administration of the province] to which his *markaz* belongs. It will also be published in a number of dailies.

Art. 2

He, who is *nā'ib* to a *ṭarīqa* is not to be appointed agent to the *mashyakha* as long as he keeps the office of *nā'ib*. His investiture with the deputyship of the *mashyakha* is permissible, if he gives it [i.e. the office of *nā'ib*] up.

Art. 3

The agents of the *mashyakha* have to keep records of all events concerning *al-ṣūfiyya* and to forward [their observations] to the competent agencies as [these] appear in the *lawā'iḥ*, and they [i.e. the agents] have, when there is an absolute need [to do so] the right [to proclaim] (of) temporary suspension until judgement has been rendered by the agency competent in the matter. (The competent agencies appear in article 13 of the khedivial decree [i.e. the *lā'iḥa*], of 2 June 1903).

Art. 4

The agents of the *mashyakha* must send the judgements they give [immediately] one after the other so that the *Majlis al-Ṣūfī* may look into them. In the one[s] in which appeal is made, the Council will judge as it sees fit. If the period within which appeal is possible [against the judgement rendered] has passed and it has become applicable, the Council will write to the Administration to have it executed if the case so requires. The period of appeal is thirty days starting from the day of announcement [of the judgement] if [the party concerned was] present and [thirty days] from the day [which] ends the period within which objection was possible, if [the judgement was made] in the absence [of the party concerned].

Art. 5

Every agent of the *mashyakha* should have all the registers as described in the 2nd article of the first section to carry out what concerns them in their *markaz*.

Art. 6

The agents of the *mashyakha* must inform the (general) *mashyakha* about every shrine, or *zāwīya* in their area, (of) which [the office of intendant] has become vacant, in order that somebody else may be appointed.

Art. 7

If [any] deviation [from] or (his) violation of the truth becomes apparent in the judgement of one of the agents of the *mashyakha*, he will be deposed from his office.

Art. 8

The agents of the *mashyakha* will not render judgement in cases concerning the shrines; this belongs to the competence of the Ṣūfī Council.

Fourth section: Concerning the shrines

Art. 1

To every shrine subject to the authority of the *mashyakhat al-ṣūfiyya*, it [i.e. *al-mashyakha*] appoints a servant or a *shaykh khidma* and a *khidma* according to what the state [of the shrine] requires. It will appoint no more (to it) than the number [of persons] needed.

Art. 2

He who has been in charge of a shrine for five years has priority over others to its intendancy, even if he is not a descendant [of the saint buried there]. If this rule is not fulfilled the descendants have precedence over others. Nobody will be appointed until after sufficient inquiries to this effect have been made.

Art. 3

The *nudhūr* will be collected by [mediation of] the *shaykh al-khidma* and with notification of *al-khidma* [i.e. of all officials, who have a right to it] they will be divided gradually [i.e. at distinct intervals] or at the end of every month in equal portions. From these portions one part will be destined for the celebration of religious festivals [held at] (of) the shrine; the remaining [part] will be distributed to the *shaykh al-khidma* and the *khidma* according to (what has been made clear in) [the act of] appointment.

Fifth section: Concerning general affairs

Art. 1

There will be no aim in *taṣawwuf* other than [the attainment of] knowledge of the Law and its implementation.

Art. 2

From the *ṭuruq al-ṣūfiyya* will be kept away:

Firstly, everything that is known as dogma contrary to the [Islamic] law, like the doctrine of *ḥulūl* and of *ittiḥād* and the exemption from religious obligations of certain people and similar [tenets].

Secondly, everything which is known as action contradictory to the

action and behaviour [in accordance with] the *sharī'a*, such as striking the body with weapons, eating insects and the like, the *dhikr* with dancing and throwing [oneself to the ground], not completing [all] the letters in it, the singing of immoral songs, holding a *zār* in shrines and similar [actions].

Art. 3

The mystical *dhikr* should be the remembrance of God and his glorification, [pronounced] clearly, standing or sitting with (the) humility and (the) dignity and in the presence of one of the *khulafā'* [who have been] given an *ijāza* by their *mashāyikh*.

Art. 4

It is obligatory for every *shaykh* of a *ṭarīqa* and every *khalīfa* to come together with his *murīdūn* one night or more every week in a *zāwiya* or in a special place for the remembrance of God the sublime, and [for] his glorification, and furthermore, for instruction and guidance afterwards. It is permissible for the *shaykh* or the *khalīfa* to appoint a *muqrī'* to the session (*ḥalqa*) who recites [to] them something about dogma and proper conduct in order to instruct [them] in that way.

Art. 5

The [principle of] *aqdām* [*qadam*] [customary] among the *ṭuruq* in the rural areas, has been abolished [herewith].

Art. 6

He will organize a *mawlid*, who has done so for a period of not less than five years. It is pre-requisite that in the immediate vicinity of the site of the *mawlid* there will not be anything incompatible with lawful behaviour, like games (and) cabarets and the like.

Art. 7

All the processions in daytime have been abolished, unless the *bāb al-mashyakha* has ordered [them to be held]. In the processions only, the *mashāyikh al-ṭuruq* or their deputies will ride [on horseback]. It is pre-requisite that the procession is not to be accompanied by anything divergent from lawful behaviour. The order of the *ṭuruq*, if they come together in any procession, will be as follows:

1. al-Marāziqa al-Aḥmadiyya
2. al-Kannāsiyya al-Aḥmadiyya
3. al-Manāyifa al-Aḥmadiyya
4. al-Salāmiyya al-Aḥmadiyya
5. al-Imbābiyya al-Aḥmadiyya
6. al-Ḥalabiyya al-Aḥmadiyya
7. al-Tasqiyāniyya al-Aḥmadiyya
8. al-Shu'aybiyya al-Aḥmadiyya

9. al-Shinnāwiyya al-Aḥmadiyya
10. al-Suṭūḥiyya al-Aḥmadiyya
11. al-Bayyūmiyya al-Aḥmadiyya
12. al-Rifā'iyya
13. al-Burhāmiyya
14. al-Qādiriyya al-Qāsimiyya
15. al-Qādiriyya al-Fāriḍiyya
16. al-Mīrghaniyya
17. al-'Īsawiyya al-Shādhiliyya
18. al-Qāsimiyya al-Shādhiliyya
19. al-Tihāmiyya al-Shādhiliyya
20. al-Ḥandūshiyya al-Shādhiliyya
21. al-'Arūsiyya al-Shādhiliyya
22. al-Salāmiyya al-Shādhiliyya
23. al-Qāwuqajiyya al-Shādhiliyya
24. al-Idrīsiyya al-Shādhiliyya
25. al-Sammāniyya al-Shādhiliyya
26. al-Ḍayfiyya
27. al-'Afīfiyya al-Shādhiliyya
28. al-Sharnūbiyya al-Burhāmiyya
29. al-Sa'diyya

Art. 8

It is not permissible to walk with flags in front of funeral processions unless [this happens] with special permission from the *bāb al-mashyakha*.

Art. 9

From the *ṭuruq al-ṣūfiyya* will be kept away everybody who makes a trade of imitating a religious festival in a public place or a public gathering with the intention of parody or the amusement of the public.

Art. 10

To everything that may occur and about which nothing special has been stipulated in this *lā'iḥa*, the principles of the *sharī'a* and the observed rules will apply.

Art. 11

Everybody who contravenes anything which [has been stipulated] (is) in this *lā'iḥa* will become subject to what this violation requires [in the way] of the punishments known to *al-ṣūfiyya* of reprimand, suspension and expulsion with [public] announcement [of disgrace].

APPENDIX VII

a. *The genealogy of Muḥammad Abū 'l-Su'ūd al-Bakrī*:*

Muḥammad Abū 'l Su'ūd b. Muḥammad Jalāl al-Dīn[1] b. Muḥammad Abū 'l-Makārim[2] b. 'Abd al-Mun'im[3] b. Muḥammad Abī 'l-Surūr[4] b. Abī 'l-Mawāhib[5] b. Muḥammad Abū 'l-Mawāhib Zayn al-'Ābidīn[6] b. Muḥammad b. Abī 'l-Surūr[7] b. Muḥammad Abī 'l-Surūr Zayn al-'Ābidīn[8] b. Abī 'l-Makārim Muḥammad Shams al-Dīn Abyaḍ

* This genealogy figures in *B.S.*, 8f. It is largely identical with the principal *silsila* figuring in the *ijāzāt* of the *ṭarīqa al-Bakriyya*. This *silsila* and other *salāsil* of the *ṭarīqa* may be found in *B.S.*, 374ff. Any divergence between the genealogy and the *silsila* is indicated in the notes. From Muḥammad Abū 'l-Su'ūd until Muḥammad Tawfīq al-Bakrī, the names mentioned in the *silsila* are identical to the subsequent *mashāyikh al-sajjāda*.

[1] His wife Āmina, the mother of Muḥammad Abū 'l-Su'ūd, was a descendant of 'Umar Ibn al-Khaṭṭāb; cf. *B.S.*, 10. No other biographical data have come down to us; cf. *B.S.*, 47.

[2] No biographical data have come down to us about this *shaykh*; cf. *B.S.*, 47. In *Khiṭ.*, iii, 123, either Muḥammad Jalāl al-Dīn or Muḥammad Abū 'l-Makārim is omitted from the genealogy, one of them being mentioned by name of Muḥammad only.

[3] He is the great-grandfather of Aḥmad al-Bakrī (see appendix VIII, note 11) and Khalīl al-Bakrī (see appendix VIII, note 14); cf. *B.S.*, 47 and 148, and *'Ajā'ib*, ii, 69.

[4] He was initiated by his grandfather's brother Abū 'l-Mawāhib al-Bakrī, who lived from 1042 (1632/3) until 1125 (1713); cf. *B.S.*, 48. From this date onwards, *silsila* and genealogy differ as follows: Abū 'l-Mawāhib was initiated by Muḥammad b. b. Abī 'l-Surūr, his paternal uncle. In his turn Muḥammad b. b. Abī 'l-Surūr (1060-1107: 1650-1695/6) — whose name figures wrongly as Muḥammad b. Abī 'l-Surūr in *B.S.*, 375 — was initiated by his father Muḥammad b. Abī 'l-Surūr (see note 7), who was initiated by his brother Muḥammad Zayn al-'Ābidīn (d. 1013: 1604/5), a one-time *qāḍī*; cf. al-Muḥibbī, ii, 196ff. The last-named was initiated by his grandfather Muḥammad Shams al-Dīn Abyaḍ al-Wajh (see note 9).

[5] He died in 1087: 1676/7; cf. *Khiṭ.*, iii, 126. In *B.S.*, 48, he seems to have been confused with his paternal uncle, also named Abū 'l-Mawāhib, who was *shaykh al-sajjāda* around 1108 (1669), (see Appendix VIII, note 7).

[6] Lived from 1050 (1640/1) until 1107 (1695/6). For a biography, see *B.S.*, 48; cf. *'Ajā'ib*, i, 27; *Khiṭ.*, iii, 125.

[7] He was a teacher of Ibrāhīm al-'Ubaydī, the author of *'Umdat al-Taḥqīq*; see al-'Ubaydī, 6, 8, 72, 104; cf. the genealogy in al-'Ubaydī, 107. He held the supreme authority position over al-Bakriyya (see Appendix VIII, note 5); cf. al-'Ubaydī, 108, and al-Muḥibbī, iii, 465ff. See also *B.S.*, 73ff. and *Khiṭ.*, iii, 123, 126.

[8] He lived from 971 (1563/4) until 1007 (1598/9); cf. *B.S.*, 78ff.; *Khiṭ.*, iii, 126. Al-Buraynī, i, 257 gives 1008 (1599/1600) as the date of Muḥammad Abī 'l-Surūr's

al-Wajh[9] b. Abī 'l-Ḥasan al-Bakrī[10] b. Muḥammad Abī 'l-Baqā' Jalāl al-Dīn[11] b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Jalāl al-Dīn[12] b. Aḥmad Zayn al-Dīn b. Muḥammad Nāṣir al-Dīn b. Aḥmad[13] b. ʿIwaḍ b. ʿAbd al-Khāliq b. ʿAbd al-Munʿim b. Yaḥyā b. al Ḥasan b. Mūsā b. Yaḥyā b. Yaʿqūb b. Najm al-Dīn b. ʿIsā b. Shaʿbān b. ʿIwaḍ b. Dā'ūd b. Muḥammad b. Nūḥ b. Ṭalḥa[14] b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ṣiddīqī[15] b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ṣaḥābī[16] b. Abī Bakr al-Ṣiddīq[17].

death. He was the first person to hold the office of *muftī al-salṭana*; but according to al-Muḥibbī, i, 117f., he did not hold this office. Another member of the family, Abū 'l-Mawāhib b. Muḥammad b. Abī 'l-Ḥasan, another child of Muḥammad Shams al-Dīn Abyaḍ al-Wajh, also held this office some time; see *B.S.*, 185ff.

[9] He lived from 930 (1523/4) until 994 (1586). His maternal grandmother descended from 'Umar Ibn al-Khaṭṭāb; cf. *B.S.*, 10. In addition, see chapter ii, notes 11-14. From this *shaykh* onwards genealogy and *silsila* are identical again (cf. note 4).

[10] He was born in 898 (1492/3), died in 952 (1545/6) and is known as Abū 'l-Ḥasan al-Mufassir. For his biography, see al-Ghazzī, ii, 194ff. and *B.S.*, 87ff. He held the office of *qāḍī* of Alexandria for some time and also the office of the *mashyakhat* of the *khānaqāh al-Baybarsiyya*; cf. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Iyās, *Taʾrīkh Miṣr al-Mashhūr bi-Badāʾiʿ al-Zuhūr fī Waqāʾiʿ al-Duhūr*, iii vols., Būlāq 1311-12, ii, 236.

[11] He was a contemporary of 'Abd al-Qādir al-Dashṭūṭī (d. 924: 1517); see chapter I, note 10.

[12] He lived from 27 Shaʿbān 809 (6 February 1407) until 883 (1478/9); see *B.S.*, 103.

[13] Died on 3 Ramaḍān 733 (20 May 1333); see *B.S.*, 226.

[14] On Ṭalḥa and his descendants; cf. F. Wüstenfeld, *El-Macrizi's Abhandlung über die in Aegypten eingewanderten arabischen Stämme*, Göttingen 1847, 25f.

[15] See *B.S.*, 254ff. for biographical data and additional information.

[16] See on him *B.S.*, 111ff.

[17] The beginning of the *silsila* differs from the genealogy as follows: Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīq who had been initiated by the Prophet, initiated his son Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr, who was the paternal uncle of 'Abd Allāh al-Ṣiddīqī and had been initiated by him; cf. *B.S.*, 264, 376.

Notes to appendix VII b.

* The contents of Leiden F.Or.A. 285 II/69-71 (12 April 1902) served as the basis for the compilation of this family tree. This document is a transcript of a letter enumerating the members of the Bakrī family who were alive in 1902 — and were consequently entitled to *awqāf* revenues — written in answer to a request for information from the Ministry of Awqāf. The same document mentions the names of thirty-two black (*sūd wa ḥabashī*) and white manumitted male and female slaves of the Bakrī family. The manumitted slaves who had not married foreigners (i.e. non-Egyptians) were equally entitled to *awqāf* revenues. For the location of the shrines of the Bakrī family (*al-sāda al-Bakriyya*), see al-Sakhāwī, 321f.

[a] 'Āyida was a descendant of 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb; cf. *B.S.*, 10.

[b] Two other wives, Māh-i Nūr and Nunshakar, died without issue.

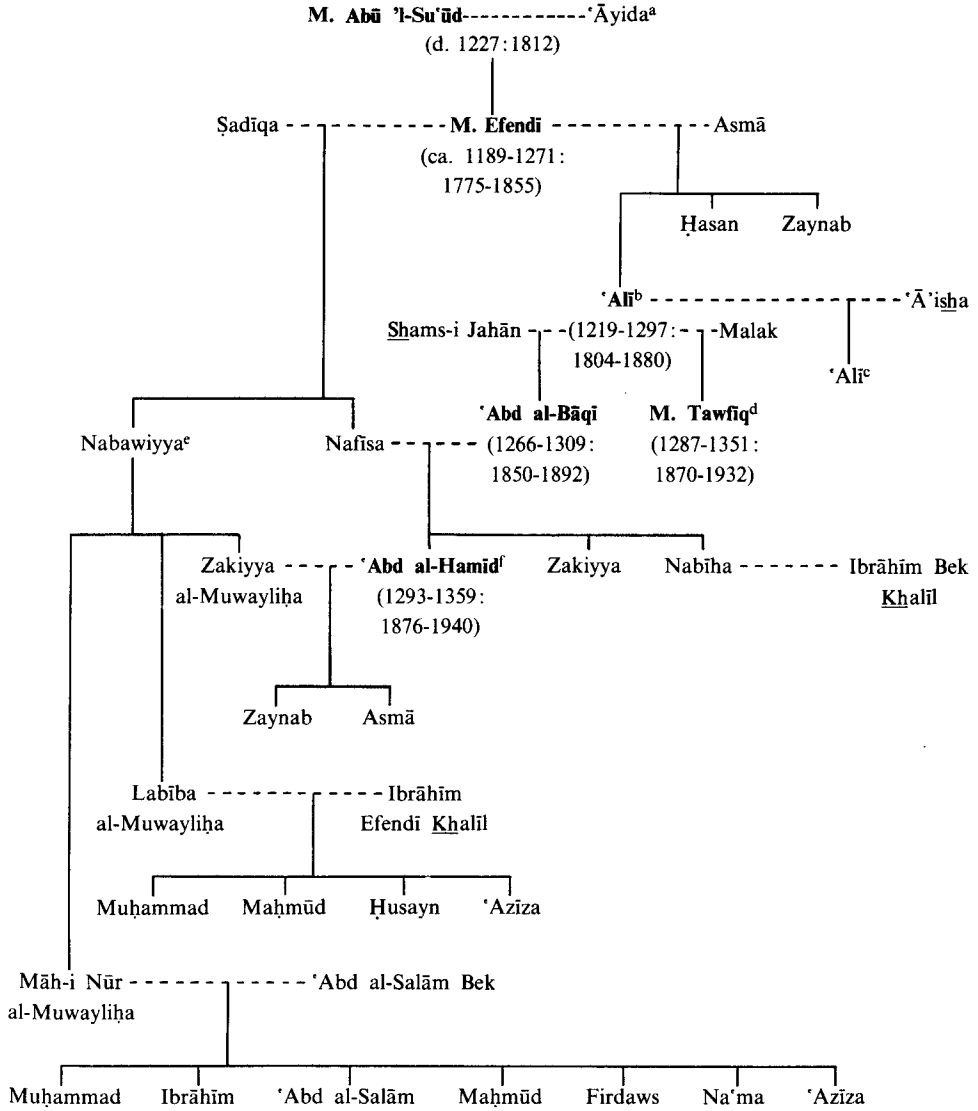
[c] Was alive in 1902, but further particulars are not known.

[d] Was married for some time to a daughter of Aḥmad 'Abd al-Khāliq al-Sādāt; no issue.

[e] Married into the Muwayliḥī family; cf. Mouelhy, 'Les Mouelhy en Égypte'.

[f] From his union with Zakiyya al-Muwayliḥa, 'Abd al-Ḥamīd had a son, Aḥmad Murād (d. 1970), who was the last *shaykh al-sajjāda al-Bakriyya* and the last Bakrī *shaykh* to hold the office of *shaykh mashāyikh al-ṭuruq al-ṣūfiyya*; cf. De Jong, 'Ṭuruq and ṭuruq-opposition', 89. From his marriage with the daughter of Aḥmad 'Abd al-Khāliq al-Sādāt, he had another son Muḥammad Wafā, born in 1918 and still alive in 1976.

b. *Descendants of Muḥammad Abū 'l-Suʿūd al-Bakrī down to the early 20th century**



The names of *al-mashāyikh al-Bakriyya* are printed in bold type. M. stands for Muḥammad.

* For the notes see page 216.

APPENDIX VIII

*A tentative list of the incumbents to the supreme authority position over the Bakrī family and the Bakriyya order**

Abū 'l-Ḥasan al-Mufassir[1]	in and before 952 (1545/6)
Abū 'l-Makārim Muḥammad Shams al-Dīn Abyaḍ al-Wajh[2]	952-14 Ṣafar 994 (1545/6-4 Feb. 1586)
Abū 'l-Surūr b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī[3]	? - 1007 (1598/9)
Abū 'l-Mawāhib b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī[4]	1007-17 Shawwāl 1037 (1598/9-20 June 1628)
Aḥmad b. Abī 'l-Surūr Zayn al-'Ābidīn[5]	around 1074 (1663/4)
Muḥammad b. Abī 'l-Surūr Zayn al-'Ābidīn[6]	? - 12 Rabī' I 1087 (25 May 1676)
Abū 'l-Mawāhib b. Muḥammad Abū 'l-Surūr[7]	? - 1125 (1713)
Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Mun'im[8]	? - 1153 (1740/1)

* The dates in the table refer to the period in which the persons mentioned are known to have held office(s).

[1] Abū 'l-Ḥasan al-Mufassir was born in 898 (1492/3). He held a number of the offices which made up the supreme authority position (cf. chapter I, note 15) from an unknown date onwards until his death in 952 (1545/6); cf. al-'Ubaydī, 153.

[2] He was confirmed as Abū 'l-Ḥasan's successor by the *qāḍī al-askar*. (This office, at the head of the judiciary, had been instituted as part of the judicial reforms of 929 (1522/3); cf. Muḥammad 'Abd al-Mun'im al-Sayyid Rāqid, *Al-Ghazw al-'Uthmānī li-Miṣr wa Natā'ijuhu 'alā 'l-Waṭan al-'Arabī*, Alexandria 1968; 304-5). This confirmation was preceded by a dispute about the succession with his brother Jalāl al-Dīn; cf. al-'Ubaydī, *ibid.*

[3] He died in 1007 (1598/9), according to al-Muḥibbī, i, 117-8. See also Appendix VII, note 8.

[4] He was born in 973 (1565/6) and died on 17 Shawwāl 1037 (20 June 1628); see al-Muḥibbī, i, 145; al-Buraynī, i, 256-7.

[5] He held the supreme authority position around 1074 (1663/4); cf. al-'Ubaydī, 108. He was the brother of Muḥammad b. Abī 'l-Surūr; see Appendix VII, note 7.

[6] See Appendix VII, note 5.

[7] He was *shaykh al-sajjāda* at the time when 'Abd al-Ghanī al-Nabulusī made his well-known journey in 1108 (1696); cf. chapter II, note 18. He was born in 1042 (1632/3) and died in 1125 (1713). See also *B.S.* 48, 62; *Khiṭ.*, iii, 125, and Appendix VII, note 5.

[8] He was a protégé of the *wazīr* 'Alī Bāshā al-Ḥakīm; see *'Ajā'ib*, i, 157, 221, and *B.S.*, 168. He died in 1153 (1740/1).

Muḥammad b. Aḥmad[9]	1153-1171 (1740/1-1757/8)
Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Mun'im b. Aḥmad[10]	around 1176 (1762/3)
Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad[11]	? - 12 Rabī' II 1195 (7 April 1781)
Muḥammad al-Bakrī al-Kabīr[12]	18 Rabī' II 1195-10 Sha'bān 1196 (13 April 1781-31 July 1782)
Muḥammad al-Bakrī al-Ṣaghīr[13]	1196-18 Rabī' II 1208 (1782-23 Nov. 1793)
Khalīl b. Muḥammad al-Bakrī[14]	Jum. I 1208-Qa'da 1216 (Dec. 1793-Feb. 1802)
Muḥammad Abū 'l-Su'ūd[15]	Qa'da 1216-end of Shawwāl 1227 (Feb. 1802-early Nov. 1812)
Muḥammad Efendī	end of Shawwāl 1227-17 Rajab 1271 (Nov. 1812-5 April 1855)
'Alī b. Muḥammad	25 Rajab 1271-17 Qa'da 1297 (13 April 1855-21 Oct. 1880)
'Abd al-Bāqī	23 Qa'da 1297-19 Jum. II 1309 (27 Oct. 1880-21 Dec. 1891)
Muḥammad Tawfīq	Jum. II 1309-early 1329 (Dec. 1891-early 1911).

[9] He is known as Abū Bakr al-Bakrī. He had been nominated by his father Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Mun'im as his successor to the *sajjāda* in order to prevent dispute about the succession among his sons (Muḥammad, 'Abd al-Khāliq and Abū 'l-Mawāhib); see *'Ajā'ib*, i, 221. He was the father of Khalīl al-Bakrī; see below note 14.

[10] He was *shaykh al-sajjāda* at the time of his appointment as *naqīb al-ashrāf* in 1176 (1762/3); cf. *'Ajā'ib*, i, 221. The exact dates of the period in which he was *shaykh al-sajjāda* are not known.

[11] The year in which he was appointed *shaykh al-sajjāda al-Bakriyya* is not known. He was the brother of Khalīl and died on 12 Rabī' II 1195 (7 April 1781); see *'Ajā'ib*, ii, 69; *B.S.*, 148.

[12] He was invested on 18 Rabī' II 1195 (13 April 1781) following the death of his nephew Aḥmad. He died on 10 Sha'bān 1196 (31 July 1782), after having been in office for a period of little over a year and a half; see *'Ajā'ib*, ii 72; iii, 258; *B.S.*, 146.

[13] He was invested by Murād Bek, *walī* of Egypt in 1196 (1782), after his father's death; see *'Ajā'ib*, ii, 72, 251-2; *B.S.*, 145.

[14] He was invested as *shaykh al-sajjāda* in Jum. I 1208 (Dec. 1793) following the death of his nephew Muḥammad al-Ṣaghīr, who had died without issue; see *'Ajā'ib*, iv, 86ff. For the text of the *taqrīr* by the *qāḍī al-quḍāt*, 'Abd al-Raḥmān Efendī, appointing Khalīl, see *B.S.*, 144. He died on 15 Ḥijja 1223 (2 Feb. 1809); see *'Ajā'ib*, iv, 88.

[15] For details about Khalīl's successors, see the relevant passages in the present study and the references given there.

APPENDIX IX

The incumbents to the niqābat al-ashrāf from ca. 1750 until 1911*

Muḥammad Abū Hādī 'l-Sādāt[1]	? - 1168 (1754/5)
Aḥmad b. Ismā'īl al-Sādāt[2]	1168-1176 (1754/5-1762/3)
Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Mun'im al-Bakrī[3]	1176 (1762/3) -?
Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Bakrī[4]	? - 12 Rabī' II 1195 (7 April 1781)
Muḥammad al-Bakrī al-Kabīr[5]	18 Rabī' II 1195 - 10 Sha'bān 1196 (13 April 1781 - 31 July 1782)
Muḥammad al-Bakrī al-Ṣaghīr[6]	1196 - 18 Rabī' II 1208 (1782 - 23 Nov. 1793)
'Umar Makram al-Asyūṭī[7]	Rabī' II 1208 - Rabī' I 1213 (Nov. 1793 - Sept. 1798)
Khalīl b. Muḥammad al-Bakrī[8]	5 Rabī' I 1213 - Qa'da 1216 (16 Sept. 1798 - Feb. 1802)
Yūsuf Efendī[9]	29 Ram. 1216 - 15 Ḥijja 1216 (13 Jan. 1802 - 19 Dec. 1802)

* The dates in the following table refer to the period in which the persons mentioned held office.

[1] He is the first Egyptian known to have held the office; cf. *'Ajā'ib*, i, 315-6; al-Bakrī, *Bayt al-Sādāt al-Wafā'iyya*, 31.

[2] When he became Muḥammad Abū Hādī's successor to the *sajjāda al-Wafā'iyya* he abdicated as *naqīb al-ashrāf* in favour of Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Mun'im al-Bakrī; cf. *'Ajā'ib*, i, 316. Muḥammad Abū Hādī, who had been *naqīb al-ashrāf* until 1168 (1754/5), had succeeded his deceased uncle Muḥammad Abū 'l-Ishrāq as *shaykh al-sajjāda al-Wafā'iyya* in Jum. I 1171 (Jan. 1758); cf. al-Bakrī, *Bayt al-Sādāt al-Wafā'iyya*, 31f.

[3] See appendix VIII, note 10.

[4] He succeeded his father Muḥammad as *shaykh al-sajjāda al-Bakriyya* and as *naqīb al-ashrāf* at an unknown date (cf. appendix VIII, note 11). He died on 12 Rab. II 1195 (8 April 1781); cf. *'Ajā'ib*, ii, 69, and *B.S.*, 148.

[5] See appendix VIII, note 12.

[6] See appendix VIII, note 13.

[7] On his appointment, see *'Ajā'ib*, ii, 252.

[8] He was appointed *naqīb al-ashrāf* after 'Umar Makram had fled the country following the French occupation; cf. *'Ajā'ib*, iii, 15, 53; iv, 87.

[9] Yūsuf Efendī was a Turkish merchant in Khān al-Khalīlī. He held the office for about two months and a half only, by virtue of a *firmān* he had obtained in Istanbul. The Egyptian *ashrāf* refused to recognize him as *naqīb*. The first date given here is mentioned by al-Jabartī as the date when he first made his claims; see *'Ajā'ib*, iii, 203f., 207.

'Umar Makram al-Asyūṭī[10]	15 Ḥijja 1216 - 27 Jum. II 1224 (19 Dec. 1802 - 9 Aug. 1809)
Muḥammad Abū 'l-Anwār al-Sādāt[11]	27 Jum. II 1224 - 18 Rabī' 1228 (9 Aug. 1809 — 21 March 1813)
Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Dawākhilī[12]	18 Rabī' I 1228 - 12 Rabī' I 1231 (21 March 1813 - 11 Feb. 1816)
Muḥammad Efendī al-Bakrī[13]	12 Rabī' 1231 - 17 Rajab 1271 (11 Feb. 1816 - 5 April 1855)
'Alī al-Bakrī[14]	25 Rajab 1271 - 17 Qa'da 1297 (13 April - 21 Oct. 1880)
'Abd al-Bāqī al-Bakrī	23 Qa'da 1297 - 19 Jum. II 1309 (27 Oct. 1880 - 21 Dec. 1891)
Muḥammad Tawfīq al-Bakrī	Jum. II 1309 - 25 Rajab 1312 (Dec. 1891 - Jan. 1895)
'Alī Muḥammad al-Biblāwī	6 Shawwāl 1312 - 2 Ḥijja 1320 (1 April 1895 - 1 March 1903)
Muḥammad Tawfīq al-Bakrī	2 Ḥijja 1320 - early 1329 (1 March 1903 - early 1911)

[10] On the deposition of Yūsuf Efendī and the investiture of 'Umar Makram, see *'Ajā'ib*, iii, 211. On the deposition of the latter and on the investiture of Muḥammad Abū 'l-Anwār al-Sādāt as his successor, see *'Ajā'ib*, iii, 98.

[11] See *'Ajā'ib*, iv, 195 for his biography.

[12] See *'Ajā'ib*, iv, 294f. for his biography. On his deposition by the viceroy and his exile to Disūq, see also *'Ajā'ib*, iv, 243.

[13] On his investiture, see *'Ajā'ib*, iv, 243. For the date of his death (not mentioned in *B.S.*, 44ff.) see *Khiṭ.*, iii, 125.

[14] On 'Alī al-Bakrī, 'Abd al-Bāqī al-Bakrī, Muḥammad Tawfīq al-Bakrī and 'Alī Muḥammad al-Biblāwī, see the relevent sections in the present study and the references given there.

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— 284 (documents in the private possession of members of the Bakrī family);
— 285 (*dafātir* in the private possession of members of the Bakrī family);
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zāwiyat al-Khuḍayrī : 21.
zāwiyat al-Rifā'iyya : 19.
zāwiyat al-Sammāniyya : 73.
zāwiyat Surūr Āghā : 149.
zāwiyat al-Tijāniyya : 149.